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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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30 September 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

COLOTKA ATTENDS SLOVAK UNION OF WOMEN ANNIVERSARY

LD042211 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 4 Sep 85

[Text] An extended session of the Slovak Union of Women Central Committee took place in Bratislava today to mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of the union.

Elena Litvajova, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Slovak Union of Women Central Committee, in her opening speech emphasized that in 40 years the union has become an important partner of the party in many areas of the life of society.

Peter Colotka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Slovak Government, praised the participation of women in the development of socialist society and he described the tasks before the 17th Congress of the party and elections to representative bodies. He pointed out the sharp rise in women's qualifications, their educational level, citizens' involvement and the ability to cope with demanding work in all sectors. He expressed the conviction that the pre-congress and pre-election period will be filled with women's initiatives and the activity of their union. At the close of his speech Comrade Peter Colotka praised the participation of the Czechoslovak women's organization in the world progressive and peaceful women's movement.

The founding and deserving members of the Slovak Union of Women at the session received commemorative medals on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the union and in an adopted resolution, the participants appealed to all women in Slovakia to greet the forthcoming 17th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL Congress with creative acts.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

OBSOLESCENCE OF INDUSTRIAL BASE DISCUSSED

AU051125 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 3 September, in its "Where Is the Truth?" column on page 3, carries a 1,400-word article by Vaclav Marek entitled "Do We Need Structural Changes?" The article responds to the letter of an unnamed reader from Havirov, which criticized the changes currently taking place in his (unspecified) engineering enterprise. According to Marek, the reader complained in his letter that his enterprise had suspended the production of "classical engineering technology," which was "well established" and for which the enterprise had a skilled work force and the necessary equipment. Now it has to discard its equipment, purchase new machinery, and retrain the entire work force. "What is the good of such structural changes? We are losing more than we are gaining," the letter reportedly said.

Answering the letter, Marek argues that even technologically advanced Czechoslovak products are heavier, more labor-intensive, more expensive to produce, and thus also less profitable to sell than those of Czechoslovak competitors. Therefore, it is necessary to change the structure of technologies being used in Czechoslovak industry today. In this connection Marek says: "Of the total amount of pig iron, only about one-half is processed productively in our country, that is, transformed into final products. The other half is made up of waste and losses. This is caused, to a considerable degree, precisely by the technological processes being used, processes that no longer correspond to the needs of scientific-technological development. Cutting [obr benil], for example, is the least economical method. In our industry, however, it accounts for almost 30 percent of all applied technologies. The much more advantageous shaping method, on the other hand, accounts for only 7 percent. In the last stage of processing, the proportion of waste averages 28 percent in our industry. The greatest part of this waste is made up precisely of metal cuttings--these represent almost one-half of all mechanical scrap. A comparison of the weight of components shows that welded or drop-forged designs, for example, are about one-third lighter than iron-cast designs. At the same time, their service life is usually longer. This shows how much we would benefit from technological changes.

"If we take a closer look at the machinery equipment, we will arrive at the same conclusions. We do not have a shortage of machinery, but in 1981, for example, the average age of our machine tools and shaping machines was almost 18 years, compared with almost half that figure in Japan. Work with older machinery is naturally less productive than work with new machinery, and frequently also

qualitatively inferior. Sophisticated numerically controlled machines account for only 1.3 percent of our machinery, which is far less than in advanced countries." Moreover, Marek says, despite relatively high prices of electronic components in Czechoslovakia, electronics accounts for only 5 percent of the cost of Czechoslovak engineering production, compared with 12-14 percent in the "industrially most advanced countries."

Technological changes also require changes in the skills and qualification of employees, Marek goes on to say. He notes in this context: "For the time being, there are great disproportions in the structure of our work force. This is demonstrated by the disharmony between acquired qualifications and their use. For example, only 71.6 percent of 732,000 people working in jobs requiring university education actually met this demand [presumably during a past survey, date of survey not given]. On the other hand, 46,000 university-trained people had jobs requiring lesser education. Similar disproportions exist in workers' occupations as well.

"The obsolescence of the production base of some production branches is responsible for the fact that for about 20 percent of jobs there is no need for any qualification; on-the-job-training is sufficient. Nonetheless, it is estimated that 1 in 15 skilled workers and 1 in 9 graduates of secondary technical schools perform such jobs."

In concluding his article, Marek says: "The concrete form which structural changes take at the places of work may very well be unpopular as they require a change of routine. However, the facts cited above show that they are simply inevitable."

CSO: 2400/579

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MINING PLANS 'REVISED' TO PROTECT NATURE

AU041044 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 30 August on page 3 carried a 1,400-word article by Dalibor Macha entitled "Mines and People." The article deals with the "revision" of plans for large-scale mining in the Frenstat-Trojanovice region of North Moravia, a popular tourist area in the heart of the Beskydy mountains."

The article opens by recalling the atmosphere of public meetings that were held in the entire Frenstat region in 1980. According to Macha, the local population was informed at these meetings that the "Frenstat-Trojanovice region has unexpectedly turned out to be one of the richest deposits of bituminous coal discovered in the Czechoslovak section of the Upper Silesia basin after the war" and that "the existing tourist traffic would soon be joined by a less pleasant construction traffic." The plans provided, Macha goes on to say, for extensive demolitions, evacuations, and new construction. The first plan drawn up in 1977 foresaw that Frenstat, now a town of 10,000 would get 14,800 new apartments and become a town of 50,000.

Turning to the present, Macha then notes that "viewed today, the previous plans for the development of the town seem to be a bit grandiose," He goes on to say: "A great deal has changed in these 8 years. The planners who were 'sewing a new dress' for the town have lost none of their courage. But, nevertheless, views on the development of the region differed--it was nature that was at stake. Just as plans for the development of the town, also the concepts of coal mining have been revised, the investment plan has been altered and it still awaits the final approval. The estimates are more sober now and the variant of a 'great Frenstat' has been abandoned altogether."

Even the construction of the Zuchov coal plant, the central plant for the entire mining region, has been postponed, Macha continues, which has also [word indistinct] the need for the evacuation and demolition of 40 to 50 family homes in the area. Quoting Oldrich Machynka, a local functionary, the article deplores that people at Zuchov "have needlessly had 5 years of sleepless nights."

In the remaining parts of the article, Macha discusses the complaints of the local population about excessive dirt and noise, bad air, and the declining quality of well water since the start of geological surveying in the region and praises the local functionaries for their responsiveness to these complaints. Thanks to the concern of local functionaries, Macha says, "tension has abated, although satisfaction is still far off." In concluding, Macha notes that the first million metric tons of coal should be extracted in Frenstate 17 years from now, although extraction will not run "at full speed" before the year 2017.



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

CHNOUPEK'S IRAN VISIT--Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek ended his official visit to Iran today and left for his homeland. The joint communique on the visit notes that Bohuslav Chnoupek and Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati expressed during the talks their satisfaction with the development of friendly contacts between the two countries in the political and economic spheres, which were further deepened following the victory of the Islamic revolution. The two sides denounced the escalation of the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, and expressed their concern over the transfer of the arms race to space. They stressed the need for a total halt of the arms race, and gave their support to a total ban on chemical and bacteriological weapons. Bohuslav Chnoupek and 'Ali Akbar Velayati denounced the continuing Israeli aggression against the Arab countries and the policy of race discrimination and apartheid of the Republic of South Africa. The two sides then explained their positions on the war conflict between Iran and Iraq, and exchanged views on the possibilities of its solution. Bohuslav Chnoupek invited 'Ali Akbar Velayati to pay an official visit to Czechoslovakia. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 100 GMT 30 Aug 85 LD]

END OF FRIENDSHIP-85 EXERCISES--The Friendship-85 Exercises of three armies of the defense alliance of the Warsaw Pact ended today. They took place in Poland. The primary aim was perfecting defense cooperation in the unified coalition system of the fraternal armies. The results achieved by the soldiers of the people's armies of Poland, the USSR, and the GDR, show that they successfully completed the demanding tests of military skills and efficiency under current battle conditions. Members of the air force along with members of all land forces showed that they had perfectly mastered modern battle technology. This is shown by the video reportage from the exercises provided by Polish television for intervention. As well as the highest representatives of the participating armies of Poland and the GDR, the commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Pact member-states armed forces, Marshall of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov watched the exercises. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2000 GMT 9 Sep 85 LD]

CSO: 2400/579

HUNGARY

DECREE INCREASES POLICE POWERS AGAINST DISSIDENTS

Paris LE MONDE in French 27 Aug 85 p 4

[Text] Vienna (AFP). A decree published in the last issue of the official Budapest journal, MAGYAR KÖZLENY, has announced the intensification of measures contained in the law concerning all Hungarians and all foreigners living in Hungary who "show an attitude placing the domestic order or the security of the People's Republic of Hungary in danger." The decree took effect at the beginning of August.

In particular, the decree includes the possibility of submitting dissidents to "police surveillance," starting at the age of 16 years (instead of 18 as before). Someone who is subject to this policy must present himself to the police of his district several times per week and cannot leave the town where he is domiciled nor can he leave his residence at certain hours.

All these measures will hence forth be applicable for a period of 2 years and can be renewed for a third, while the maximum term in effect until the present was only 1 year.

In addition, since the beginning of August a person having served his term (of police surveillance, for example) could be charged with the same violation again if "the police authorities arrive at the conclusion that the disciplined person has not changed his attitude." Until the present only an outright offense could invoke the renewal of these measures.

Observers think that this intensification of the surveillance measures is directed mainly at several members of the opposition. The new decree could apply particularly to economist Gyorgy Krasso, one of the most visible Hungarian leaders. Mr Krasso, who is 53 years old, was placed under police surveillance (see LE MONDE of 5 January 1985) at the end of November 1984. As editor of the secret review HIRMONDO (The Messenger), he was given a fine at the beginning of November 1984 for "violating press laws" after searches were conducted at his home. Before that, in June 1984 he was questioned several times by Budapest police as a result of an interview which appeared in HIRMONDO concerning the execution in June 1958 of Imre Nagy, prime minister of the insurrectionist government of 1956.

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HUNGARY

# RETIREMENT PAY OF DECORATED CITIZENS RAISED

Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 10 Aug 85 p 7

[Text] Decorated Pensions

The Council of Ministers has retroactively increased from this year 1 June the amount of pension supplements automatically due to those possessing several types of state decorations, that is, the minimum pension of such decorated individuals has been increased by 30-80 percent. According to the No 30/1985 cabinet decree dealing with this issue (MAGYAR KOZLONY, No 1985/25) the pensions of those possessing 15 types of state decorations have been increased (see table). For example, those holding the Hero of Socialist Work decoration now receive a 3,000-forint pension supplement instead of the previous 2,500-forints per month, regardless of the size of their pension. However, if the monthly pension based upon his employment is determined to be less than 5,000 forints for the holder of this decoration, a minimum pension of 8,000 forints must be established for him. Generally, the holders of state decorations appearing in the table receive monthly pension supplements between 1,400-3,000 forints, regardless of the type of decoration. However, in case the amount of his pension determined by employment and increased by pension supplements is still lower than the amount due as a result of his decoration--the lowest monthly pension appearing in the second column of the table--then the decorated individual is entitled to the latter, more favorable amount. The government has also increased retroactively from 1 June the amount due to those receiving national nursing case 2-3 fold. Invalids entitled to such allotments now receive 5,000 forints instead of the former 1,900 forints per month; the spouses, parents and orphans of those dying a martyred death are entitled to a 4,000-forint monthly care allotment instead of the previous 1,500 forints. The cabinet decree also orders that those possessing the Outstanding Artist of the Hungarian People's Republic decoration shall have a monthly pension supplement of 2,500 forints, in other words, their smallest monthly shall reach 8,000 forints. That those holding the Merited Artist of the Hungarian People's Republic decoration shall have a 2,000-forint pension supplement, i.e. a 7,000-forint minimum pension--is in the decree.

# Pensions of the Decorated

<u>Decorated</u>	<u>Monthly pension supplement (forint)*</u>	<u>Monthly smallest pension (forint)**</u>
--Hero of Socialist Work	2000 (2500)	8000 (5000)
--Hungarian People's Republic's diamond adorned Order of the Flag	3000 (-)**	8000 (-)88
--Hero of the Hungarian People's Republic	3000 (2500)	8000 (5000)
--Hungarian People's Republic's diamond adorned Order of the Flag I. degree	3000 (2500)	8000 (5000)
--Hungarian People's Republic's Order of Merit	2500 (2000)	7000 (5000)
--Peace and Friendship Order of Merit	2000 (2000)	6000 (4500)
--Hungarian People's Republic's Order of the Flag I. degree	2000 (2000)	6000 (4500)
--Reg Flag Order of Merit of Work	2000 (1400)	6000 (3400)
--Hungarian People's Republic's ruby adorned Order of the Flag	2000 (2000)	6000 (4500)
--Red Flag Order of Merit	2000 (1400)	6000 (3400)
--For the Socialist Homeland Order of Merit	2000 (1500)	6000 (4300)
--Hungarian People's Republic's laurel adorned Order of Merit	1700 (1400)	6000 (3400)
--Hungarian People's Republic's Order of the Flag II. degree	1700 (1400)	6000 (3400)
--Hungarian People's Republic's Order of the Flag	1400 (1100)	6000 (3300)
--Hungarian People's Republic's Order of the Flag III. degree	1400 (1100)	6000 (3300)

\* Previous amount in parentheses

\*\* Decoration established since 1982

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ROMANIA

FOREIGN POLICY OF PAST 20 YEARS REVIEWED

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 6, Jun 85 pp 597-607

[Article by Alexandru Bolintineanu: "Romania's Foreign Policy in the Past 20 Years"]

[Text] One of the great achievements of the past two decades, the most fertile in the millenary history of the Romanian people--the decades of the "Ceausescu Era"--was to raise socialist Romania's foreign policy to a level of unprecedented creativity and dynamics, thus securing for Romania a place among the nations fitting to its history, to the particular traits of the Romanian people, and to their accomplishments in the new socialist conditions.

In these two decades, the most brilliant embodiment of our country's foreign policy was its deep and dynamic involvement in international life, where it promoted the aspirations and interests of both the Romanian people and of all other peoples for freedom, peace, and understanding.

This brilliant policy bears the mark of the visionary thinking and revolutionary actions of the RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and is built upon his programmatic guidelines, featured in his entire work and implemented with his direct and decisive participation.<sup>1</sup>

Within this framework, Romania has vigorously worked for the victory of mankind's great causes: disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, achieving peace and security in Europe and throughout the world, preventing a nuclear catastrophe, establishing extensive cooperation among all the states, eliminating underdevelopment and achieving a new world economic order, democratizing international relations, and enhancing the role of the United Nations.

In the years following the Ninth RCP Congress, thanks to its principled, realistic, dynamic, and efficient character, socialist Romania's foreign policy asserted itself throughout the world.

During these years, there has been no truly important international problem for which Romania did not make considerable efforts to solve. Our country's international prestige equally reflects its great achievements in building the

comprehensively developed socialist society and the contribution of its foreign policy to ensuring peace and international cooperation, as well as its numerous initiatives, proposals, and efforts along this line.

We cannot stress enough the close dialectical link between domestic and international policies. This link is manifested by the need to ensure conditions of international peace and security and of cooperation with all the states with a view to successfully implementing our own plans and programs of socioeconomic development.

Proceeding from this need, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed at the 13th party congress: "While assigning first priority to socioeconomic development and to building the socialist system, our party and state also carry out an active foreign policy of expanding cooperation with other states and defending peace and national independence and freedom."

In consequence of the foreign policy it pursued in the past 20 years, Romania now has diplomatic and economic relations with a far larger number of states, While in 1965 our country had diplomatic relations with 67 states, currently it maintains diplomatic and economic relations with over 150 states on all the continents.

Such a marked development of Romania's relations with the other countries, embracing the most diverse areas of activity, and its active engagement in international life are directly linked to the work of the country's president. Summit dialogues have been institutionalized by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu as a decisive factor for promoting friendship and cooperation with the other countries.

This type of summit dialogue was actively pursued during the Romanian president's many visits abroad in Europe, Africa, Asia, and America. At the same time, he also met with a large number of heads of state in Romania. Consequently, tens of treaties of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance were signed, as well as treaties of friendship and cooperation, hundreds of solemn declarations, and joint statements and communiques. These constitute a particularly important political and legal framework for promoting Romania's relations with the respective countries. The above mentioned documents have been accompanied by important economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and other agreements.

We also want to stress the fact that, thanks to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's concept on economic cooperation and its elements, our commercial exchanges with a large number of states have been continuously developing in various forms.

In order to illustrate the essential guidelines and achievements of Romanian foreign policy in the past 20 years we will summarize here the development of Romania's relations with the other states of the world, its activities in international organizations, and Romania's position on the major international issues.

## Development of Relations of Friendship and Cooperation with All the Socialist Countries

Our country pays special attention to continuously developing its friendly relations and cooperation in many areas with the socialist countries. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated in his solemn speech on the occasion of his reelection to the high position of president, "From the elevated forum of the Grand National Assembly I want to state, at this solemn moment, that our party and state will further do everything possible to intensively develop relations with all the socialist countries, primarily with our neighbors. I want to stress, on this occasion, too, our determination to make every possible effort to continuously develop our manysided relations with the Soviet Union. We believe that strengthening the solidarity and unity of the socialist countries is, in the present day conditions, an important factor for increasing the prestige and strength of socialism, for peace, and for the socioeconomic progress of all the nations."<sup>2</sup>

Our country resolutely bases its relations with the socialist countries on the principle of national independence and sovereignty, equality of rights, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, and mutual comradely assistance. These principles and norms, enriched by the specific character of the unity of social system and ideology, and of the goals of the common struggle for socialism and communism and for world peace and progress, constitute an essential condition for developing a new type of relations, thus setting an example of interstate coexistence.

Along this line, Romania has been continuously developing its bilateral relations with the socialist countries in the most varied areas. In this respect, an important role is played by the political framework created through treaties of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance, which were renewed after 1968. <sup>3</sup>

Romania pays special attention to continuously improving relations of economic cooperation with all the socialist countries. Most of Romania's foreign trade consists of commercial exchanges and production sharing with the socialist countries. Particular stress is placed on production sharing and cooperation, such as Romania's participation in building cellulose and asbestos factories in the USSR, its participation in the exploitation of gas resources, the achievements and projects carried out with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria to utilize the hydropower and navigation potential of the Danube, participation in the development of plants for the exploitation, treatment, and enrichment of mineral and energy resources, and so forth.

## Characteristics of Romania's Relations with the Developing Countries

A new, profoundly scientific, and original concept was developed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu concerning our country's relations with the developing countries. These relations are based on common interests, aspirations, and goals concerning the independent development of each country, intensifying bilateral relations, eliminating the old international policy of inequity, and promoting new interstate relations.

Socialist Romania, itself a developing countries, consistently supports the developing countries' aspirations and efforts to promote their socioeconomic progress and to secure a dignified place for themselves in the international division of labor and in the political life of the world.

The relations of cooperation with those countries are based on the principles of respect for each country's independence, equality of rights, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage, and their purpose is to contribute to developing a stronger, independent industry and agriculture, without being linked to any political condition.

Along this line, the major form of aid promoted by Romania in its relations with the developing countries is mutually advantageous production sharing in the areas of industry, agriculture, construction, transportation, and other branches. Similarly, Romania offers extensive technical assistance to the developing countries, particularly by training cadres of specialists here or in their own country, where many Romanian experts are working.

The ascending course of Romania's economic relations with the developing countries is illustrated by the fact that trade with these countries has attained and exceeded the 25 percent goal set by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. The rate of growth of Romania's commercial exchanges with the developing countries was higher than the growth of international trade in general, and their share of Romania's foreign trade is higher than their share of international trade. The most modern forms of cooperation are applied in most of our country's cooperation ventures with the developing countries.<sup>5</sup>

At the same time, also thanks to the Romanian president's concepts and actions, joint international ventures with developing countries have developed and intensified, a fact which is testified, among other things, by Romania's participation in the "Group of 77" and by its guest status at the meetings of the nonaligned countries.

#### Expanding Relations with the Developed Capitalist Countries

On the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, and of the objective need to participate in the international division of labor, in the past 20 years Romania has consistently expanded its relations with the developed capitalist countries. The resolute and consistent basing of these relations on the principles of international law also places them within the framework of promoting a new type of cooperation, capable of implementing interstate equality of rights regardless of social system, level of economic development, and size and potential.

An essential contribution to establishing the general framework for these relations and their major guidelines was made by exchanges of visits at summit level, solemn declarations, joint statements and communiques, and various international agreements signed on such occasions. These documents define the basic guidelines for bilateral relations and sanction important principles for developing cooperation in areas of joint interests.



Some of the important objectives of developing economic relations with the developed capitalist countries is signing long-term agreements, establishing lines of commercial credit, and setting up joint production and marketing companies. Various industrial cooperation ventures have been concluded between Romanian enterprises and firms from the FRG, Italy, France, Japan, and the United States, as well as financial and banking projects. Joint governmental commissions of economic and scientific-technical cooperation have also been established.

Another chapter of these relations is direct bilateral relations with members of the EEC and the Common Market as such.<sup>6</sup> As of 1 January 1974, Romania has enjoyed certain customs privileges under the generalized preferences accorded by the EEC to developing countries.

Romania's cooperation with the developed capitalist countries is of a double value, economic and political, since it promotes rapprochement among countries with different social and political systems and levels of development, and acts as a factor for bridging the existing economic gaps and for stabilizing interstate relations.

#### Major Aspects of Romania's Activities in International Organizations<sup>7</sup>

Socialist Romania's particularly active participation in international organizations reflects President Nicolae Ceausescu's concept on the role of these organizations in the contemporary world. According to this concept, international organizations offer an appropriate forum for the active participation of all the states in resolving the complex problems of our era, problems that can no longer be solved by only a few states, and in the democratization of international relations. Simultaneously, these organizations can make a valuable contribution to ensuring peace and settling mankind's major problems, and to asserting and implementing the principles of interstate relations.<sup>8</sup>

As a member of many international organizations, Romania carries out intensive and fruitful activities in keeping with the interests of all the nations, peace, and social progress.<sup>9</sup> The Romanian president's participation in the UN General Assembly festive session (1970), in the opening in Bucharest of the World Population Conference, the session of the Interparliamentary Union, and the UN ECE (1974), visits to UNESCO and to the International Atomic Energy Agency, and the messages addressed to important meetings of many international organizations demonstrate the particular attention paid and the support granted by Romania to the international organizations as tools for ensuring peace and developing cooperation among all the states. Along the same line we should mention the fact that four UN offices and representations of specialized institutions are active in Romania.

Proceeding from this concept, in the past 20 years our country has raised both the number and caliber of its initiatives in various international organizations, primarily in the United Nations, and has listed on their agendas items of a major importance for the constructive development of international relations and for fulfilling peoples' aspirations.

Expanding on the Romanian initiative which resulted in the UN General Assembly adoption, on 7 December 1965, of the declaration on promoting the ideals of peace, mutual respect, and understanding between nations among young people, Romania worked to have the UN General Assembly proclaim the year 1985 as the International Youth Year under the slogan "Participation, Development, Peace."

Coinciding with the UN's 40th anniversary, many events and actions that will mark the International Youth Year will make a decisive contribution to increasing the potential for action and the contribution of the new generation to satisfactorily resolving mankind's vital problems and to building a peaceful and bright future for all the nations and for the present and future young generations.

Another item placed by Romania on the UN agenda referred to "The Role of Modern Science and Technology in National Development and the Need to Strengthen Interstate Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation." This topic occasioned extensive debates and studies and in 1979 brought about the organization of the UN international conference on science and technology as means of development.

As of 1970, one of the permanent items on the UN General Assembly agenda has been "The Socioeconomic Consequences of the Arms Race and Its Profoundly Harmful Effects on International Peace and Security," which has occasioned a study that is regularly updated and has kept the organization informed, through conclusive figures and material, on the multiple noxious effects of the arms race, exacerbated by the lack of specific disarmament measures.

Another particularly telling proof of Romania's endeavors to ensure that the activities of the international organizations help promote interstate cooperation and understanding is the fact that in 1972 our country put on the UN General Assembly agenda the item "Enhancing the UN Role in Safeguarding and Strengthening International Peace and Security, Developing Cooperation Among all the Nations, and Promoting the Norms of International Law in Interstate Relations." Thus, the attention of the organization was for the first time called to the need for extensive measures to improve its structures, organizational framework, and working style and methods so that the United Nations can become an efficient means of promptly and effectively tackling mankind's major problems.

In pursuing this initiative, aside from its particularly active participation in the activities of the body dealing with this topic--the special committee for the UN Charter and for increasing the role of the organization--Romania presented a comprehensive program of measures along this line, featured in the document forwarded to the UN General Assembly in 1975: "Romania's Position on Improving and Democratizing the UN Activities and Bolstering Its Contribution to Achieving Cooperation Among all the States, Regardless of Social System, a Better and More Just World, and Lasting Peace."<sup>11</sup>

The same special committee for the UN Charter and for increasing the role of the organization also debated a draft declaration on peacefully settling interstate disputes, worked out by Romania in conjunction with its 1979 initiative to put this matter on the UN General Assembly agenda.

Adopted by the UN General Assembly under resolution 37/10 of 15 November 1982, the declaration on peacefully settling international disputes made an important contribution to defining the obligation of the states to employ solely peaceful means to resolve their conflicts, and to indicating the measures required to enhance the role of the UN mechanisms along this line.

For the same purpose and also at Romania's suggestion, the UN General Assembly is debating the establishment of a good-offices commission of mediation and conciliation as a permanent body that should contribute to increasing the contribution of the organization to settling interstate disputes.

Thus, the particular significance of this Romanian initiative is being verified as one of the materializations of its many contributions to safeguarding peace.

Along the same line, in 1979 Romania put on the agenda an item on developing and strengthening good neighborliness among states which occasioned constructive debates aimed at adopting an international document on the subject, and resolutions on freezing and reducing military budgets, adopted by the General Assembly as of 1979 and discussed at the Geneva disarmament conference.

In connection with Romania's activities at a regional level, we note that, as one of the original members of CEMA, our country attaches a great importance to this body, actively participates in its work, and is consistently concerned with ensuring that all its activities proceed in accordance with the aims for which it was established and with unanimously agreed upon norms.

The norms and principles featured in the CEMA Statute also served as the foundation for the Comprehensive Program adopted in 1971 at the 25th CEMA session held in Bucharest. On the basis of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national sovereignty, independence, and interests, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, solidarity, and mutual comradely assistance, the Comprehensive Program envisages developing and perfecting mutual cooperation on the basis of free consent and without the establishment of supranational bodies.

Romania has worked and will further resolutely work to implement the agreements on improving the CEMA activities and developing economic exchanges and production sharing. Our country actively participates in coordinating plans, in production sharing, and in joint scientific and technical research projects, so that CEMA can play an increasingly important role in the socioeconomic development of the member-states, building socialism and communism, and raising the well-being of the peoples in the socialist countries.<sup>12</sup>

Within the Warsaw Pact, to which it has belonged from its establishment, socialist Romania develops military cooperation with the other member-states of this defensive alliance. In the past decades, Romania has consistently advocated stressing the political character of the organization, and has endeavored to continuously increase the Pact's contribution to establishing a climate of security, cooperation, and peace in Europe and to bring about the

simultaneous dismantling of the two military blocs in Europe. Since no appropriate agreement has yet been reached along this line, Romania accepts the prolongation of the duration of the Warsaw Pact, and the 13th party congress has given the Central Committee the due authorization. While assenting to the extension of the Warsaw Pact term, Romania resolutely speaks out for making every possible effort to create the necessary conditions for dismantling the two military blocs as soon as possible. This is in keeping with the interests of the nations of the socialist countries and with the cause of peace in Europe and throughout the world.

#### Romania's Position on Major International Issues

One of the characteristic traits of Romania's foreign policy are intensified efforts to achieve disarmament and ensure peace; our country's peace policy is unanimously appreciated throughout the world.

This constitutes another concrete example of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's concept and of his concern for the fate of the Romanian people and of all mankind. This concern is being expressed increasingly vigorously, in view of the unprecedented tension that has been created in international life in recent years.

As the party secretary general stated at the 13th RCP Congress, "In view of the increased danger of a new world war and of a nuclear catastrophe, all the nations must do everything possible to halt the dangerous course of events. That is why the fundamental issue of the contemporary era is to halt the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, to begin disarmament, and to ensure a lasting peace in the world." <sup>13</sup>

On this basis, Romania has carried out and continues to carry out very intensive activities designed to contribute to launching an effective disarmament process. The Romanian concept that has taken shape on disarmament, on lines of action, and on the scope of negotiations aimed at permitting progress toward this goal, expresses the political thinking and actions of the president of the republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. <sup>14</sup>

According to its concept, Romania puts particular emphasis on the link between disarmament and development as the elements of a new world economic and political order. Thus, our country stresses that disarmament must be achieved both in order to secure peace, and to free the huge resources invested in armaments and utilize them for socioeconomic development and for eliminating underdevelopment.

Concerning the lines of action for achieving disarmament, in its proposals and endeavors Romania supports both measures aimed at the final goal of general disarmament, and partial measures on arms reductions and related disarmament measures. Even if some people "view partial reduction measures as symbolic gestures, we must state that we prefer even the smallest, symbolic disarmament and arms reduction measures to arms build-up measures. We would like everyone to adopt every month--and if possible, every day--symbolic arms reduction measures and renounce major arms build-up measures." <sup>15</sup>

As an active participant in the activities of the various UN bodies dealing with disarmament negotiations, Romania perseveringly endeavors to democratize the institutional framework of negotiations on increasing the role of the United Nations and of other international bodies in the area of disarmament, and to keep the international public informed on the results of the negotiations.<sup>16</sup>

In this context, Romania has presented many disarmament proposals and programs, has initiated various resolutions, or has joined as co-author. Our country has actively participated in working out multilateral international treaties on related disarmament measures, has presented various proposals to enhance their effectiveness, particularly in connection with the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, and has signed all these treaties.<sup>17</sup>

A comprehensive disarmament program reflecting Romania's concept along this line is featured in the document presented to the UN General Assembly in 1975 and entitled "Romania's Position on General, Primarily Nuclear Disarmament, and on Establishing a Lasting Peace in the World." Our country has also presented many proposals at the two UN General Assembly special sessions on disarmament in 1978 and 1982.

Our country attaches a great importance to reducing military expenditures, and has itself taken concrete measures along this line, such as reducing military spending in the 1979 and 1980 budgets and maintaining them at that level, and utilizing the resources thus freed to increase state allocations for children.

In the present conditions, and consistently assigning priority to nuclear disarmament measures, our country advocates halting or immediately freezing the nuclear arms race in general, and precluding the transformation of space into an arms race arena, as is being attempted through the harmful steering of scientific research toward "Star Wars."

Our country pays special attention to ensuring peace and security in Europe. Along this line, Romania has made very important contributions to the CSCE, which adopted its Final Act in Helsinki 10 years ago. Among other things, that document featured, at Romania's initiative, a document on measures to build up confidence, on certain aspects of security and disarmament, and on implementing the principle of nonrecourse to force.<sup>18</sup>

Later, at the Madrid conference, as well as at the Stockholm conference (which began on 17 January 1984) and is examining confidence building and disarmament and security measures in Europe, our country presented program-documents featuring many proposals, such as:

- notification of and limitation of military maneuvers and troop movements, and exchange of maneuver observers;
- renunciation of military activities at state borders;
- renunciation of deployment of new military bases, and of development and modernization of the existing bases;

-- establishment of a system of crisis communication by setting up a permanent political consultative body of the participating states, which should meet periodically and in emergencies.<sup>19</sup>

All of Romania's disarmament proposals and actions reflect the concept of the country's president and his particular concern to halt the arms race and save mankind from a nuclear catastrophe. Thus, President Nicolae Ceausescu has been consistently striving to end the particularly serious situation created in Europe at the end of 1983 by the beginning of the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in certain west European countries, and subsequently, by the nuclear countermeasures adopted by the Soviet Union and other European socialist countries.

In view of this situation, Romania and its president consistently spoke out for halting the implementation of those measures by each side and setting a deadline for removing the previously deployed missiles.

Hailing the resumption of the Geneva negotiations between the USSR and the United States on nuclear and space weapons, Romania, like other states, expects statements to be replaced by real, sincere, and responsible negotiations aimed at arriving at appropriate accords meeting the expectations of the nations and leading to ending the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, to withdrawing nuclear weapons until their final elimination, and to halting the militarization of space.

Through its president, Romania has stressed that the European countries, the Warsaw Pact and NATO member-states, especially those where the medium-range missiles are being deployed and where the majority of nuclear weapons are stockpiled, should meet and talk, and should actively contribute to finding solutions to ensure the success of the Geneva negotiations and achieve appropriate accords.

According to Romania's concept and strategy, an important contribution to resolving mankind's major problems can be made by promoting a new world economic and political order; this strategy, worked out by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, was presented in general lines in his report to the 11th party congress (25 November 1974).

In this concept, the new order requires a revolutionary change in international relations and a cooperation based on new principles, so that each nation, regardless of its size, can actively contribute to and equally participate in solving all the problems of the contemporary world.

At the same time, the struggle to eliminate relations of inequality and oppression and to achieve a new world economic and political order constitutes an expression of the confrontation between rich and poor in the world arena, and mirrors the class struggle at an international level. That is why socialism, the most powerful revolutionary force of the contemporary world, has a primary role to play for the promotion of a new world order.

Along these lines, the concept held by Romania and its president on a new world order demonstrates primarily the objective necessity of the process of engineering such a new order. The preservation of the current order contradicts the new realities and new structure of the contemporary world, and has particularly nefarious consequences for the evolution and future of human civilization. The peoples cannot suffer to see wealth concentrated at one end of the world and poverty at the other. Peace and cooperation cannot be achieved in the absence of a new world economic order.

The historical development of the contemporary world at the same time creates the possibility of establishing a new world order thanks to the increasing strength of the forces of peace and progress and to the world assertion of a policy directed toward new interstate relations and the abolishment of the policy of force and domination.

The establishment of a new world order is of equal interest to all the countries and peoples, because it is aimed at ensuring stability and a harmonious, balanced development for the entire world economy.

Aside of these major aspects of Romania's concept on the new world order, we must also stress that the new economic order also features a political dimension, and thus, a new world economic and political order must be established. The multidimensional character of the new order implies the consideration of social, ethical, cultural, and juridical aspects, too.<sup>20</sup>

As for the objectives of the new order, eliminating underdevelopment and gradually and proportionately equalizing the economic levels of the states are, in our country's concept, the primary objective. For this purpose, our country has frequently and in various forms presented the specific economic measures that must be taken and the methods that are to be employed to implement them, at various international fora, primarily within the United Nations.

As is known, the developed capitalist countries are opposed to global negotiations on the establishment of the new order. The disastrous consequences for the world economy, the deepening economic crisis, and the continuously increasing debts of the developing countries are just a few of the elements that verify the need to begin dealing with this problem within a new framework that involves the restructuring of economic and monetary relations and the engineering of a new world order.

This brief summary of the major aspects of socialist Romania's foreign policy in the past 20 years proves beyond doubt its innovative and daring spirit, and its dynamic and consistent endeavors to contribute to the efforts made to attain the most important objectives for safeguarding our civilization and promoting peace, progress, and well-being for all the nations.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. For a general report see Petre Tanasie, "President Nicolae Ceausescu's Concept and Activities--A Contribution to Asserting a Democratic International Policy, in Keeping with the Interests of International Peace, Security, and Cooperation, in REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE, 1984, No 5, pp 366-372.
2. Nicolae Ceausescu, Report at the 13th RCP Congress, Political Publishing Houses, Bucharest, 1984, p 72.
3. The treaties renewed were with the CSSR (1968), USSR (1970), People's Republic of Poland (1971), People's Republic of Bulgaria (1971), People's Republic of Hungary (1972). A treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance was signed in 1972 with the GDR, and a treaty of friendship and cooperation with the DPRK in 1975.
4. See Nicolae Ceausescu, Report to the RCP National Conference 19-21 July 1972, Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1972, p 112.
5. P. Tanasie, op. cit., p 368.
6. Agreement on industrial trade, and establishment of joint commission ratified under decree No 316 of 17 October 1980.
7. For details see A. Bolintineanu, "The Function of Development of New Cooperation Relations with the Other States and of Promoting the Establishment of a New World Economic Order," in "The functions of the Romanian Socialist State, Dynamics and Prospects," coordinators: I. Ceterchi, Sofia Popescu, A. Bolintineanu, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 1980, p 136 and on.
8. See Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania Along the Path of Building the Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society," vol. 6, Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1972, p 9.
9. V. Gliga, "President Nicolae Ceausescu's Concept on the UN Organizations," in REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE, 1978, No 2, p 93.
10. The Center for Improving the Training of Managerial Cadres (established in 1967 in cooperation with ILO); UN Information Center (1970); UNDP Permanent Representative Office (1971), and UNESCO European Center for Higher Education (1971).
11. See "Romania's Contributions to Solving the Major Contemporary Problems," Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1975, pp 36-60.
12. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report to the 13th RCP Congress," p 25.
13. Ibid., pp 73-74.



14. George Macovescu, "Romania's Contribution to Disarmament Efforts," in "Disarmament and the New World Economic Order," coordinator N. Ecobescu, Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1978, pp 58-70.
15. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report to the 12th RCP Congress," Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1979, p 109.
16. Martian Niciu, "The Function of Defending International Peace and Security," in "The Functions of the Romanian Socialist State, Dynamics and Prospects, p 173 and on.
17. Romania is a signatory of: the treaty on banning nuclear experiments in the three media (1963); 1967 treaty on the principles governing the exploration and exploitation of outer space, including the moon and other planets; Nuclear nonproliferation treaty (1968); treaty on banning the deployment of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons on sea and ocean beds outside national territorial waters (1971); convention on banning the improvement, production, and stockpiling of bacteriological and toxic weapons, and destroying them (1972).
18. Ion Diaconu, "The Principles Governing Interstate Relations in Europe. Nonrecourse to Force and Threat of Force--Fundamental Concept of the CSCE Decisions," REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE, 1975, No 4, p 371 on.
19. Romulus Neagu, "Halting the Arms Race and Beginning Disarmament--Part and Parcel of President Nicolae Ceausescu's Concept on European Security," in "President Nicolae Ceausescu's Concept on Establishing New Relations in Europe," Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1984, pp 102-113.
20. See Stefan A. Andrei, "Foreword" to "Toward a New World Order," coordinator Nicolae Ecobescu, Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1976, p 9.

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ROMANIA

ROUNDTABLE ON CURRENT CONCERNS IN DEVELOPING SOCIALIST AWARENESS

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/Discussion by Univ Prof Dr Alexandru Boboc, Univ Reader Dr Stana Buzatu, Univ Prof Dr Ion Florea, Univ Prof Dr Petru Panzaru, Univ Reader Dr Constantin Sirbu, Ioan Stanescu, Dr Constantin Stroe, Univ Lecturer Dr Damian Teodosiu, Univ Prof Dr Ion Tudosescu, Univ Prof Dr Constantin Vasile and Dr Ion Zara/

/Text/ As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his address to the National Forum of the Young Generation, "In the new stage of Romania's development, political-educational work and indoctrination of all workers in the spirit of the advanced conceptions of the world and life require an extensive political effort on the part of all party organs and organizations."

Building the fully developed socialist society is an extensive historical process involving the creative powers of the workers and the entire people, and it accordingly requires further development of the role of the subjective, purposeful factor, improved occupational and political-ideological training of all members of society, and formation and development of advanced revolutionary awareness.

The historical period inaugurated by the Ninth Party Congress 20 years ago also opened up prospects of renovated theoretical approaches and political action to form the masses' socialist awareness and to promote the revolutionary spirit in all activities. The RCP and its secretary general flatly rejected the metaphysical, nondialectical view of the relationships between social existence and social awareness, emphatically stressing the need of constant efforts to coordinate those two aspects of social development as completely as possible. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his Speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982, "Let us make theoretical, ideological and political-educational work a force for further development of the productive forces and improvement of the social structure and relations."

In this spirit the 13th Party Congress heavily emphasized the need of further improvement in political-ideological and cultural-educational work for purposes of enhancing the role of social awareness, setting an ever higher cultural standard for Romanian citizens, and furthering the purposeful participation of the

workers regardless of nationality and the entire people in building their communist future. In view of the long-range theoretical and practical aims of the RCP Ideological Program (adopted by the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of June 1982 and approved by the National Party Conference), the Congress made it an integral part of the RCP Program for Construction of the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism.

In the light of the major aims of the RCP Ideological Program, ERA SOCIALISTA arranged a discussion on the subject of the dialectical relationship between social existence and social awareness in the present stage of Romanian society's development. We publish below an abridged stenographic record of the discussion.

ION FLOREA: The diversified effort to educate and form the new man as a purposeful builder of socialism and communism is one of the RCP's great achievements, heavily emphasized in the years since the Ninth Party Congress. The radical intellectual renovation of Romanian society achieved in this period is vividly reflected in the people's advanced ideals and aspirations and the fact that socialism is the vital cause today of all the workers, who are implementing the program for building the new social order.

Change of the human condition, along with revolutionary reform of society as a whole, is an essential and vital aim of the task of socialist construction. All experience with socialist construction in Romania proves that changes in the social structure and in material existence deeply influence social awareness and the way people think and act, and in their turn formation and development of socialist awareness are a powerful motive force for social progress and an integral, characteristic part of socialist and communist construction.

ION TUDOSESU: Actually, as it says in the RCP documents and as the RCP general secretary keeps pointing out, the historical mission of socialism is not only to free man from exploitation and secure his material well-being but also to build a higher cultural civilization, which is impossible without forming a new man with a high revolutionary awareness, a sound cultural and professional training, and an advanced moral-political mentality. Therefore a regular and intensive political-ideological and socialist-educational effort in an objective necessity throughout the whole period of socialist and communist construction. As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the first Congress on Political Indoctrination and Socialist Culture in 1976, "Formation of the new man as a purposeful builder of the most just social system is the RCP's greatest and most far-reaching task, highest responsibility, and honorable revolutionary duty. Therefore we must work in an organized fashion in this field, according to clear, scientific guidelines."

In the spirit of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the RCP has been proceeding from the principle that socialist society does not come about automatically but is purposefully built by the masses. Socialism is the system wherein the masses, for the first time in history, attain a better understanding of necessity and the objective laws and act in the spirit of their requirements, purposefully creating their own destiny.

Accordingly the RCP general secretary's point that the revolutionary spirit must be promoted more and more intensively in the present stage of the fully developed socialist society's construction is of particular operational significance.

This revolutionary spirit takes the form of the creative initiative of the man of the new society and his purposeful, responsible commitment to progress, the struggle to promote the new and do away with the old, the constructive effort to accomplish the ideals of communism, and the critical and self-critical attitude, all of which interact and combine in the concept of revolutionary militancy.

It is pointed out in the documents of the 13th RCP Congress that development of advanced socialist awareness and promotion of the patriotic revolutionary spirit of the workers and the entire people are becoming increasingly important in the present stage of the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society. Formation of the new man with a high socialist awareness, fully receptive to all the values of contemporary culture and entirely responsible in his relations with society, is indispensable to construction of a new society and to its all-around progress.

ION ZARA: The nature of our present stage, the greater scope of the socioeconomic objectives we have to accomplish, and the changes taking place in Romanian society and throughout the world call for an increasingly intensive ideological and political-educational effort toward study and interpretation of the socioeconomic phenomena and the operation of the objective laws of progress in order to give a scientific answer to the questions presented by contemporary social development. This effort is closely related to the current problems of further improvement of Romanian society, and it is expected to secure development of the communists' and all workers' revolutionary awareness and the entire people's active participation in the programs for national socioeconomic development.

Party management of all political-educational work lends the process of forming and developing socialist awareness a militant revolutionary character. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We must always keep the active, innovating and revolutionary spirit of the party and of theoretical and ideological work alive, and we must keep working for improvement of the party's leadership in keeping with the new stages and with the requirements of socioeconomic development, science and culture. We must make every effort so that the RCP will always be a revolutionary party, stimulating all development and maintaining the Romanian people's patriotic and militant revolutionary spirit."

Accordingly it is a constant concern to indoctrinate the young generation in the revolutionary communist spirit of responsibility to the cause of socialism in Romania and of love and respect for work, for creative activity, and for mastery of the latest gains of human knowledge in all fields of activity. In his address to the National Forum of the Young Generation Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized the need to base the entire effort to educate and train youth and the entire people permanently on the dialectical-materialist revolutionary conception and the principles of scientific socialism as basic requirements for forming an advanced culture and understanding the radical revolutionary changes taking place in our period in all human activities and in the material and cultural existence of society.

#### Historical, Dialectical-Materialist Conception of Existence-Awareness Relation

PETRU PANZARU: I consider it highly significant that Nicolae Ceausescu began by stressing the dialectical unity of social existence and social awareness in analyzing Romania's progress in building the new social order, the stages of the

revolutionary process, and the present stage and prospects of Romania's development in his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982. He pointed out that we must always remember that while the way of thinking, social awareness and degree of development of science, education and culture depend on the material bases of society and the method of production and distribution of goods, nevertheless in their turn social awareness, science, education, culture and ideological and political-educational work play an important part in development of the productive forces. The party general secretary said, "We have tried from the start to emphasize the unity of the material base and the effort to develop the productive forces with scientific, theoretical and ideological activity. It is only by viewing all aspects of the people's and the party's material and cultural activities in complete unity that we shall function as revolutionaries and true communists and best resolve all problems of Romania's steady progress toward the golden dream of communism."

The whole vast and comprehensive task of building the fully developed socialist society must be analyzed in the light of the dialectical-materialist conception of the unity of social existence with social awareness and of the objective material component with the subjective intellectual component of society.

Sociohuman life is distinguished from life in general by the constant interaction between the material objective aspect and the intellectual subjective aspect. Society and social existence as such are inconceivable without the presence, interaction and interrelation of those two aspects. In fact social existence and awareness form a single whole, since sociohuman life is formed and derives its nature from the very interaction and interrelation of the objective material factors with the subjective intellectual ones. In not one of the components of society can existence be divorced from awareness or awareness from existence. As distinguished from nature as such, society is the systemic unity between the objective and subjective, the material and intellectual, and existence and awareness.

ION TUDOSESCU: Determination of people's social awareness by their social existence and their mutual correlation in the sense that people's ideas and attitudes play an active part in their material existence, favorably or unfavorably affecting the structure and evolution of their social existence, is as we know a fundamental principle of dialectical and historical materialism upon which Marx and Engels based the revolutionary conception of society and of the determinism of social and human existence. Far from being conceived from the standpoint of a narrow economic determinism, this principle involves a series of interactions and interdependences between the infrastructural and structural factors in society, between them and the superstructural phenomena, among economics, politics and ideology, among economics, culture and education, between the individual and society and, in general, between the objective and subjective in the structure and determinism of social existence.

The Marxist conception brings out the fact that existence determines awareness, and beyond that primary determination a series of intermediates and connections operate in the social mechanism that could be called "circular causal relations" in order to avoid any conclusion that the idea of a reverse connection excludes that of causation. Such causal relations operate more intensively in the revolutionary periods of society's history. In those periods indoctrination, stimulation of the cultural factors, and ideological work take on a particular social

value, along with dissemination of the new values on which the strategies for revolutionary social reform are based and planned. It is a matter of enhancing the role of the purposeful factor in social development. Socialist revolution and construction is essentially characterized by this reverse dialectical connection between the subjective and objective, as Lenin said about the relationship between the political and economic when the working class is gaining and exercising power.

What I think should be emphasized, in the light of the historical and dialectical materialist conception and the principles of scientific socialism concerning the relationship between existence and awareness and between the objective and subjective, is the outstanding role of social awareness, the advanced revolutionary ideas and consequently of ideological work, propaganda and the effort to form the new man during construction of the fully developed socialist society and the advance toward communism. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We proceed from the principle that the new social order is impossible without reform of man's awareness and that no socialist revolution nor any major changes in the social structure as a whole are possible without a revolution in people's thought and behavior. We are building socialism with people and for people. We cannot achieve a revolutionary reform of all society unless we first reform the people who are called upon to make these revolutionary changes and bring about the successful construction of the fully developed socialist society and communism!"

PETRU PANZARU: To be sure the treasury of ideas of historical and dialectical materialism includes basic guidelines and methods for scientific interpretation of the correlation between social existence and social awareness. Marx and Engels considered at least three factors in order to answer the question, which elements or factors form a constant bond between social existence and awareness, making them an active, functional structure? First are the people themselves, who are both the bearers of awareness and the subjects of the objective, material social relations and activities. In them existence and awareness are united on the level of the collective and individual social subject, and without them there is no social existence nor any bearer of awareness. Second are the material-social necessities of human beings, which are a motive force for all their activities and relationships. Defined, perceived and accordingly converted to interests, they make the transition from objective existence to subjective awareness and unite them on the level of the collective and individual social subject. Without necessities there would be no activities, neither the material nor the intellectual aspect of sociohuman life would form or develop, existence would have no support and awareness no object. And third, I think language and communication may most fully express the unity, inseparability and interrelation between objective and subjective, material and spiritual, and existence and awareness that characterize and particularize sociohuman life and life in general. Neither social existence nor social awareness are possible without language (natural) and interhuman communication (symbolic, semiotic and technical), which are parts of both social existence and social awareness and actually form and perpetuate both of them in their dialectical unity.

Accordingly in real social experience (as distinguished from theory) no rigid dichotomy or isolation of social existence from social awareness or vice versa is possible. Actually there is no "on the one hand" (existence) and "on the other hand" (awareness). They form a single dialectical whole and their interaction alone produces sociohuman life and development and human progress.

ION FLOREA: As it has been said here, Marx' point that it is not people's awareness that determines their existence but, on the contrary, that their social existence determines their awareness has the value of a truth for understanding social development as a whole and the significance of a general historical law, since it brings out the basic structural relationship of the mechanism of social development regardless of the stage in its evolution.

The two philosophical and sociological categories of social existence and social awareness cover the whole social reality in their content, and they interact and are interrelated. As it has been said here, they are closely connected with two other concepts vital to understanding social development, namely the objective and subjective. Society in general takes the form of constant unity and interaction of the objective and subjective factors, since it has both the attribute of the materiality of some basic activities and processes and that of the subjectivity of other activities and processes, being itself both subject and object at the same time. This structure, contradictory and uniform at the same time, is a common characteristic of society in all periods, but the correlation between the objective and subjective factors has distinctive features, depending on the particular importance and role of one factor or another in various stages of social development and on the particular effects of social determinism in the various social units and stages of their evolution.

IOAN STANESCU: From the integrating viewpoint of historical and dialectical materialism, social awareness in no abstract idea apart from the real world, nature and history, just as human action in its turn is not socially and historically independent of the entirety of its objective conditions, either natural or social. As it is defined in Marxist philosophy, social existence differs radically from all the other forms of existence that preceded it in history, but that does not mean that it can be viewed as isolated from the determinism of the natural world, from which man cannot be entirely divorced. Like the social-historical background, the natural environment is a basic component of social existence. Georg Lukacs pointed out in this connection that for Marx "Social existence cannot be considered independent of nature or as its sole opposite, as a large part of bourgeois philosophy has done in regard to the 'realms of the spirit'." Lukacs said the ontology of social existence will also reject the simple vulgar-materialist application of the laws of nature to society just as emphatically as it was the fashion to do in the period of "social Darwinism."

By recognizing the operation of natural causation in the world of man but also the capacity of the social whole for self-determination and modification of that causation, Marxist-Leninist philosophy avoids finalist procedures in analyzing social determinism, pointing out that social existence is a process with a history of its own that can be understood as a dynamic entirety. Marxism's revolution in philosophy consisted of recentering the whole theory of history upon man himself, development of his creative capacities, and actually upon the dialectical unity of social existence and awareness. For Marx the main consideration in this new interpretation of history is work in the sense of practical activity whereby man modifies the objects of nature, accomplishing his own purposes and making them social values. Work is a critical point both for interpreting the determinations of social existence and for determining the evolution of awareness.

STANA BUZATU: In fact disclosure of the critical role of social practice sums up one of the greatest contributions of dialectical materialist thought to the

process of radically overcoming the limitations of the previous philosophical conceptions. As contrasted with the conceptions metaphysically isolating thought and separating it from nature, historical and dialectical materialism shows that it is the transformation of nature by man, and not just nature as such, that constitutes the most important and closest basis of thought. Man's intelligence developed insofar as he learned to change nature. Marx said, "Awareness has been a social product from the start and will remain so as long as men exist in general." As Marx and Engels said in "German Ideology," the Marxist conception of history, as contrasted with the idealist one, "always remains on the real ground of history. It does not explain practice by ideas but explains the formation of ideas by materialist practice... Men are the producers of their conceptions, ideas etc., but they are real and active men as they are determined by a given development of the productive forces and of the relations corresponding to that development, even in their remotest forms."

DAMIAN TEODOSIU: The Marxist conception of social existence is profoundly and essentially dialectical because the social activities and relations it comprises are both objectively necessary, being imposed on men unconditionally, and purposeful, in the sense that men do not effect them automatically or mechanically but in close connection with the way they perceive their objective, existential necessities and with the historical evolution of their knowledge of the ways of satisfying them. In Marx' view the concept of social existence, combining a multitude of quantitative and qualitative and objective and subjective determinations in a dialectical unity, is the starting point of Marxist thought. This concept is also the necessary "key" to understanding nature as a nature for man and not as a nature in itself. I feel that it is only in this light that we can apprehend the many humanistic implications of a basic principle (consistently developed in the years since the Ninth Party Congress in the RCP program documents and Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works) that the purpose of our entire activity is to build a new and advanced society wherein social existence is not reduced to mere material existence, largely quantifiable, but is also a free and worthy existence completely incorporating all the moral values of revolutionary socialist awareness.

ION TUDOSESCU: Perhaps we should consider the significance of what we call the main problem of the determinist explanation of social existence a little further. If we confined ourselves to describing the relationships between social existence and social awareness we would not explain the whole mechanism of social determinism and development. Mere existence does not define man and society in itself does not explain the process of historical evolution. Moreover Marx thinks that human nature alone can be defined by the entirety of social relations in which the individual is objectively involved in every society, while work and practical-transforming activity constitute his ontological status and existential condition. In his turn Engels asserted that work created man and is also basic to social progress and human achievement. In the same light, Gramsci regards social action as the basis of the "historical unit" or of construction of the social system, while Lukacs saw in work the ontological basis of the social and accordingly regarded the concept of work as the basic concept of historical materialism.

It is only by interpreting the relationships between people's ideas and work, between knowledge and practice, and between human action and the world of values that social determinism and the general outline of progress can be explained.



Moreover the social relations themselves cannot be established aside from work. Man is not only a historical presence but primarily an active subject of history. Social history itself is formed by the exercise of his attribute as a creator of history, which means that the problem of the relationship between social practice and social awareness is actually the basic problem of explaining the historical-social process.

Structural change in both material and ideological social relations is based on practical activity (in all its forms, among which activity in material production, social-political activity, and educational and formative-ideological activity are fundamental). Practice is basic to changes in both material and mental life. The world of values and people's ideas as well as their mental life are dependent on their direct activity in the course of their practical relations with nature, with society and with each other.

Socialist construction and especially construction of the fully developed socialist society and the advance toward communism are raising the process of objectifying the dialectical relationship between practice and awareness to a qualitatively new level. The RCP and Nicolae Ceausescu point out in this connection that the formation and development of socialist social awareness are not spontaneous but require extensive political indoctrination and a comprehensive ideological effort so that all members of society will assimilate the new intellectual and moral values, the revolutionary conception of the world and life, and the basics of the party's program and strategy.

Construction of the fully developed socialist society and the advance toward communism heavily depend upon the individual's constructive capacity. In the RCP's view, brilliantly formulated by its general secretary in the last 20 years, the qualitative changes in all economic and social fields characteristic of the present stage of Romanian socialist society's progress are impossible without revolutionary awareness and a militant spirit.

ION FLOREA: The new social existence determines the general developmental trend of socialist awareness and opens up many possibilities for operation of the subjective, purposeful factor as a stimulating motive force for social progress. Under those circumstances absolutizing the theory of lag of awareness behind existence may give rise to a waiting attitude and one of justifying shortcomings. Tolerance of backward attitudes and habits, passiveness and fatalism can only result in an actual lag in awareness and retard the material and intellectual progress of socialist society. The RCP general secretary said, "We must secure harmonious progress in all activities, since a lag, whether it is in the material base and development of the productive forces or in science, culture and socialist awareness, can cause difficulties in the development of Romanian society as a whole." Hence the objective necessity of a regular and intensive theoretical, ideological and political-educational effort that will lead to general improvement of the workers' knowledge, expansion of their cultural horizons, and formation of the new man.

#### Active Role of Socialist Awareness in Steady Progress to the New Order

CONSTANTIN VASILE: Dialectical-materialist analysis of the relationship between social existence and social awareness brings out the specific evolution of the

various aspects of awareness in connection with the particular features of a given historical period. As we know, in the years since the Ninth Party Congress the RCP and Nicolae Ceausescu have advanced new theories of outstanding theoretical and practical value for in-depth understanding of the dialectical relationship between social existence and social awareness in contemporary Romanian society. They have pointed out that both the material development of society and socialist awareness interact to secure the continued progress of socialist society. Meanwhile they have emphasized the fact that so far from merely reflecting existence, social awareness is an active and militant revolutionary factor galvanizing all society. On that basis they formulated a consistently revolutionary innovating view of the reforming role and functions of socialist awareness in the present stage of Romania's development.

Socialist society releases man's creative powers and fully develops his ability to change nature, his social environment and himself. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in this connection, "Essentially, we are in fact proposing to come to the aid of nature, so to speak, which has synthesized in man the higher developmental form of matter, by taking all measures to encourage his noblest qualities, to keep enlarging his knowledge, and to fulfill his boldest dreams of progress, justice and happiness."

STANA BUZATU: As it has been said here, the nature and functions of the socialist social unit are bringing about the unprecedented growth of the role and influence of the purposeful factors. This is a law that stems from the new structure of social existence and the nature of the relations among the various socioeconomic sectors, all of which require knowledge of the objective trends, gradual elimination of the unpredictable factors and uncontrollable social forces, provision for a planned, organized development, and realization of the future consequences of the present activity.

The revolution in the production, exchange and distribution methods, in the social and class structure and political relations, and in the organization and management of the social system, as well as the qualitative changes being made in the way of life and in the intellectual values and standards that guide Romanian society, create real possibilities of forming a uniform theoretical and ideological conception of the world and life. Those possibilities lie in formation of a uniform, socialist economic base for the whole economy, in disappearance of social and national inequalities, in unification of the vital interests of the various social classes and strata, and in the process of social leveling and consolidation of the people's moral-political unity around the RCP as the leading social force. Meanwhile Romania's experience proves that the possibilities of the new kind of social organization are not realized automatically but require intensive development of the productive forces and social and production relations as well as a sustained political-ideological and educational effort. Accordingly the RCP takes account of the need of harmonious all-around development of all the subsystems that make up the overall social system and their growing interdependence. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "It is only by closely combining economic development with greater revolutionary awareness that we can secure the success of the program for national socioeconomic development."

In making original contributions to the dialectical analysis of the relationship between social existence and social awareness and of the development and maturing

of the material and mental requirements of the new order, the RCP and its general secretary have criticized any attempts to make a fetish of the social laws and stressed the critical role of knowledge and understanding the requirements of historical development and prevention of the dysfunctions that can arise between the objective necessities of social evolution and the operation of the subjective factor.

CONSTANTIN STROE: It is unquestionably to the RCP's great credit that it pointed out the harm it would do to make fetishes of any points in the revolutionary theory, in this case the relative independence of social awareness from social existence, and the fact that no passive stand should be taken on them but an active one for their reinterpretation in keeping with the new conditions. Therefore the dialectical relationship between social existence and social awareness is to be analyzed specifically-historically according to the stage a given kind of society is in.

During construction of the fully developed socialist society, the dialectics of social existence and social awareness are reflected partly in the fact that the new quality of social existence requires radical changes in social awareness and partly in the fact that as the socioeconomic structures of the new order are created, the course of events increasingly depends upon people's awareness and their ability to grasp the requirements of the objective laws of social development and embody them in precise objectives on every level of action. Accordingly the active role of social awareness, in correlation with the material base and social progress in general, becomes more and more pronounced. The nature of this reciprocal effect is not expressed only quantitatively, by the greater influence of social awareness, but also qualitatively by the new forms of action of social awareness and by the fact that it is not just a "helper" consolidating the social system but primarily an integral component of the latter's being, functioning and uninterrupted progress.

ION ZARA: Both the fundamental theoretical principles and the actions of the RCP are indicative of the dialectical character of its conception of the process of forming revolutionary socialist awareness. The constant effort to improve the socialist production method as a basic element of Romanian social existence reflects the application of such fundamental principles of historical materialism as determination of awareness by social existence, the role of the economic levers and methods in mobilizing the masses, the central place of material production and the economy in society, etc. Meanwhile advanced awareness is an active factor in the RCP's revolutionary view, capable of stimulating society's all-around development. In other words, awareness is not an auxiliary or passive accompaniment of socialist society's development but a part of the very nature of the fully developed society and necessarily included in that society's structure. At the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982 Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in this connection that "We called the future Romanian society 'fully developed' in order to avoid misunderstandings, neglect of any aspect of the activity, or the conclusion that in speaking of the developed socialist society we mean only or primarily development of the material base."

Of course awareness does not become a stimulant of social progress automatically. The facts prove that under certain circumstances it can even become a dysfunctional factor obstructing development. This brings out even more clearly the great

importance of ideological work and the efforts toward political indoctrination of the masses, improved training and culture, formation of the new man, and cultivation of the revolutionary spirit.

The goals, content and methods of the educational effort to form socialist awareness as an integral part of the fully developed socialist society were based on those facts. The essential aims of political work to that end include: an increasingly strong commitment to work and society, improved qualifications, responsible and competent fulfillment of plans and tasks, pursuit of economic effectiveness and reduction of raw material and energy inputs, integration in the labor collective, active participation in the whole activity of the unit, locality and society, promotion of the new, display of creative initiative, strengthened discipline and order, development of the national wealth, protection and consolidation of socialist property, etc.

ION FLOREA: Successful performance of the tasks of the third stage of the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism and the transition to a new quality heavily depend upon improvement in the quality of the human factor, in professional training, and in every citizen's political awareness and responsibility.

To be sure full exploitation of the benefits and superiority of socialism as a social system does not come about automatically but only through formation and operation of democratic organizational and administrative structures that will rationalize the combination of the material and human and the subjective and objective factors as effectively as possible. Under those circumstances the roles of scientific organization and management, of the masses' democratic, purposeful participation in social management, and of their spirit of responsibility, initiative and creativity are greatly enhanced, as well as the role of science in determining the requirements of the objective laws, in noting and resolving contradictions that arise in social development, and in opening up new possibilities for material and intellectual progress. If the institutional structure of Romanian revolutionary workers democracy is to function fully and be more and more effectively used, this whole dialectic of the relationship between the objective and subjective factors must be considered in the act of management.

CONSTANTIN STROE: As it has been said before, the great revolutionary reforms effected in Romania in the years of socialist construction and especially since the Ninth RCP Congress have also made radical changes in the level of the workers' and the masses' social and political awareness. But as we know it was frankly stated in the Speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 that theoretical, ideological, political-educational work was lagging behind the development of the productive forces and of social and production relations. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "It may be stated that the material base of Romanian socialist society has progressed and been developed more intensively than social awareness and theoretical, ideological and political-educational work. This unquestionably has some bad effects and we must take steps to coordinate the two aspects of social development as completely as possible."

It should be mentioned that it is not a matter of a lag in social awareness as a whole but of the fact that some elements or aspects of social awareness tend to lag or are lagging behind the rate and standards of development of social existence, while other elements are overtaking the developmental stage reached by

social existence. For example, lags have been noted in the levels of some elements of systematized theoretical awareness, pertaining mainly to the social sciences, that fail to explain some aspects of the social reality satisfactorily (such as for example the changes taking place in the productive forces and social relations, in the nature and structure of the social classes and their relations, in state activity, and in the world arena as well). And the persistence of obscurantist, mystical ideas and remnants of the bourgeois way of life and ideology in the case of some members of society is yet another aspect of the lag in social awareness.

Moreover some lags have been noted particularly in the behavioral aspect of awareness, or more precisely in those elements of unsystematized (common) awareness that are in the area of social psychology (feelings, emotional states, attitudes, states of mind etc.). Such elements are often in serious conflict with the advanced social relations in Romanian society. Attitudes of the past still persist in this area especially, such as some individuals' backward attitude toward work and socialist property, disregard of order, discipline, the laws of the land, etc.

Anticipating the harm that would be done by continuation of discrepancies between social existence and social awareness, the RCP also took firm measures to coordinate the two aspects of social development as fully as possible. The radical change in material living conditions and the purposeful nature of the task of building the new society make it possible to resolve the said contradiction by developing the role of advanced revolutionary socialist awareness. In view of this particular practical purpose of socialist awareness, the approved documents of the 13th Party Congress assigned it as a main task for the next period to bring all awareness up to the level of the great progress made in socialist construction and to make theoretical, ideological and political-educational work even more of a factor for development and modernization of the productive forces, improvement of the social structure and relations, and consequent development of awareness as a powerful force for mobilizing and stimulating the creative energies of the entire Romanian people.

CONSTANTIN SIRBU: A number of institutions belonging to the superstructure and bodies in the field of material production as well are engaged in formation of people's awareness, their occupational, political and ideological training, and their education. I should like to mention here that the circumstances themselves act as educational factors, namely productive forces, social and production relations, the general living conditions and the changes taking place in them. Social existence and its evolution undoubtedly contain potentials of this kind. People's thinking, behavior and way of relating to realities are partly formed under the direct influence of the progress of economic construction. There is no doubt that the great progress made in socialist construction has had a marked effect upon awareness and stimulated the creative energies, heroism and selfless work of a growing number of people. But that is by no means to deny or minimize the role of the party's theoretical, ideological and political-educational work in forming socialist awareness. That activity has been and is of the greatest importance in arming the party, the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, and the masses as well with a scientific understanding of the contemporary social processes, the evolution of Romanian socialist society, international developments, and the objective laws of social-historical progress. It has

been contributing actively to general improvement of the workers' knowledge, expansion of their cultural horizons, and formation of the new man's awareness. In the last 20 years the party's theoretical, ideological and political-educational work has become a powerful force for uniting the workers' and the entire people's efforts in the task of socialist construction and has particularly influenced development of the productive forces and improvement of Romanian society's social relations and forms of management.

#### Current Requirements for Forming the New Man

ION ZARA: Knowledge and assimilation of the historical and dialectical-materialist conception and the principles of scientific socialism in close connection with the necessities of life and the new realities are of great importance in the educational effort to form socialist awareness. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Report to the 13th Party Congress, "All party ideological work and education must include study of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the basic works of Marx, Engels and Lenin as well as other, contemporary theoretical works."

In our times mastery of Marxist philosophy, which is basic to socialist awareness, will help the workers understand the social realities in transition, the trends appearing in society and on the international level, the contradictory dialectical processes going on in social, economic and political activity, and Romanian society's prospects in the light of the RCP's program policies. Interpretation of the facts of reality in the light of dialectical-materialist philosophy and the RCP's communist ideals is a process requiring study of the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics, the RCP documents, Nicolae Ceausescu's social-political thought and his creative contribution to the revolutionary theory's development. Arming the communists and all workers with the revolutionary conception of the world and life contributes to the people's capacity for active, competent and responsible participation in socioeconomic, scientific and cultural activity and in social management.

I should like to point out here two characteristics of Marxist philosophy that I consider particularly relevant to formation of socialist awareness. The first is regular comparison of the revolutionary theory with reality. Nothing is more foreign to the spirit of the Marxist conception than ignoring reality, philosophizing in itself, sterile construction of systems, and concoction of abstract, fixed ideas divorced from the real world. Careful study of the facts, specific analysis of the situations, and adoption of measures in full accord with the existing possibilities and conditions are essential features of the revolutionary philosophy and indispensable to the success of the party's work in any field, including formation of socialist awareness. In the scientific, realistic spirit of the party policy, we must make a determined effort to overcome the difficulties and not to absolutize or idealize social development, "leaving the false impression that socialism cannot encounter difficulties or economic crises and that establishing the political power of the working class and starting socialist construction automatically solves the problems and leads automatically to application of the socialist principles," as the party general secretary put it. Realism is an essential of socialist awareness that is based on knowledge and does not contradict but serves the revolutionary courage and optimism of the revolutionary conception of the world and life.

The second characteristic of the revolutionary philosophy that I should like to bring out here is the critical spirit. Both the works of the Marxist classics and the whole development of the revolutionary theory in our time demonstrate the fertility, effectiveness and social-political usefulness of the critical method in developing ideology, in the progress of practice, in changing attitudes, and in encouraging or correcting behavior. As contrasted with the formative, stimulating qualities of the revolutionary critical spirit, the conciliatory spirit of mutual tolerance of defects gives rise to contradictions, stagnation and lags. Promotion of the new, introduction of the new quality, generalization of useful experience, and application of the elements of moral, scientific and technical progress (that is, the elements that demand current awareness of our neighbors) necessarily require a critical approach in keeping with the RCP's revolutionary ideological principles and values.

ION TUDOSESCU: Work ranks high among the educational factors because it shapes the individual's personality and all society's progress ultimately depends upon generalization of that process. In connection with the value of the work principle, the RCP's idea that work will still be a factor in distribution even in communism strikes a highly original note. In communist society work will cease to be the measure of distribution but it will never cease to determine the satisfaction of man's needs. Distribution according to need requires a high awareness. People will have a better self-awareness and will relate the extent and variety of their needs to the real possibilities of society by themselves according to their social contribution. Then awareness will become the controlling factor in the distribution system just as it already is in the production system and in creativity in all activities in Romanian society today.

CONSTANTIN SIRBU: In the present stage of Romania's socioeconomic development a number of radical changes are taking place in the sectorial structure of material production and all social activities, of the means and objects of labor, and of the labor force. Expanded automation and the growing output of the automated units; the growing importance and proportion of microelectronics, telecommunications and data processing alongside the declining proportion of energy-intensive sectors producing traditional products; diversification of energy sources and the appearance and expansion of new, unconventional sources, accompanied by accentuation of the energy recycling processes; appearance and expansion of integrated-production sectors to make the fullest possible use of the useful substances present in natural resources; appearance and development of production of new materials that diversify the objects of labor and permit manufacture of products with good performances, and considerable expansion of biotechnologies etc. -- all these changes are accompanied by changes in the very principles basic to the processing of the objects of labor and to the exchange of materials between man and nature. Mechanical processing is losing more and more ground to nonmechanical and mixed processing, while both the various generations of means of labor and the old kind of them are becoming obsolete.

The point that I should like to stress here is that the structure and level of manpower training are also changing radically in close correlation with the material working conditions. The number and proportion of highly skilled working personnel are increasing in all activities. The share of intellectual, thoughtful and creative work properly speaking in the total labor input to make goods is increasing because of both the increased mental efforts of those employed in



processing the object of labor and the perceptible gain in basic and applied scientific research work and in design operations. I consider all this vital to better understanding of the correlation between the material and the intellectual changes in Romanian society, indicating among other things the necessity of further improving and broadening the general standard of education and providing better trained personnel with high professional, technical and scientific qualifications to meet the requirements of Romanian society's present developmental stage and those of the contemporary technical-scientific revolution.

IOAN STANESCU: The contemporary technical-scientific revolution and the effects of the gains in knowledge in all activities are greatly furthering the role of education and all forms of occupational training in the process of shaping the individual's creative aptitudes and his ability to meet the demands of modern, highly productive industry and to carry out the objectives of Romania's socioeconomic development in the next five-year plan and on to the year 2000. The emphasis on Romania's intensive socioeconomic development and the requirements for technical and qualitative improvement of the products and for greater social labor productivity through application of the peak results in science and technology confront education with the major objective of continually modernizing and improving the process of education and instruction. To this end the programs for Romania's socioeconomic development in the next 15 years approved by the 13th Party Congress emphasize improved education and thorough training of the labor force, multiqualification and ever closer integration of education with research and production. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his address to the National Forum of the Young Generation, the schools and the whole educational process must make a telling contribution to the formation and indoctrination of youth in the spirit of revolutionary responsibility and determination to perform their tasks without fail in all activities and to always be worthy and dedicated citizens of socialist Romania.

CONSTANTIN SIRBU: In the last 20 years and especially since the Ninth RCP Congress a modern educational system has been created in Romania that now includes over 25 percent of the population and provides all Romanian youth with a sound training and all activities with the needed personnel. This revolution in the development of Romanian education has provided optimal conditions for the nation's entire socioeconomic development.

I should like to add the following considerations in connection with the role of the schools and education in forming the new man. In the process of building the socialist economy and in the latter's operating mechanism as well, I think the interdependence between social existence and social awareness and their mutual influences call for simultaneous measures for development of the material and economic base of socialism and for formation and all-around training of the new man. The social existence-awareness relationship is not like a simple cause-and-effect relationship, wherein changes are made "first" in existence and "then" in awareness. In a sense formation of the awareness, which also includes specialized training, often precedes development of the material factors. For example, new technology is introduced in various enterprises and sectors not before but only after the cadres have been formed that can master and handle it effectively.

DAMIAN TEODOSIU: In the entire political-educational effort to form the new man the party places priority on development of socialist revolutionary patriotism,



love of country, responsibility and dedication to the people. In Romanian society patriotic awareness is militant and stimulating in that it expresses the need of uniting the creative activity of the entire people purposefully, in the light of the ideals of socialism.

Cultivating the sense of patriotic responsibility and obligation requires perseverance and continuity in organizing the educational programs as well as firm opposition to instances of parasitism, indifference to public property, and tendencies to give society as little as possible and demand as much as possible from it, and to place individual interests above the nation's major interests. In every historical period and especially now constructive work for the nation's progress and for growth of the national wealth and of the people's prosperity as well as exemplary fulfillment of tasks are supreme commandments of patriotism and its most direct manifestations.

Formation of the revolutionary patriotic awareness of the man of socialist society is also closely interrelated with the requirements for cultivating international solidarity with workers everywhere and with all peoples in the struggle for social and national emancipation, disarmament, peace, freedom and progress. In this connection we must point out that the best performance of the tasks of socialist construction by the working class and the entire people and the victories won by every socialist country in building the new order, in increasing its economic strength and in furthering its people's prosperity are of both national and international importance alike.

ION FLOREA: Viewed in its unity and in the entirety of its correlations, cultivating patriotic feeling necessitates firm opposition to any manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism or anti-Semitism, which manifestations belong to the capitalist and imperialist past and reflect the interests of the exploiting classes. Nicolae Ceausescu said, any tolerance or especially encouragement of nationalist tendencies or manifestations means playing the game of the reactionary imperialist circles, jeopardizing friendly relations among peoples, and serving only the enemies of freedom, democracy, peace and socialism." Nationalism in any form defies the Romanian people's way of being, thinking and feeling and is basically incompatible with the historically formed Romanian ethic, wherein the aspiration to unity, friendship and solidarity and rejection of any form of humiliation, domination or contempt of neighbors and other peoples are among the basic standards of their behavior.

CONSTANTIN VASILE: Experience tells us that the whole process of developing socialist awareness is not without some inequalities and contradictions. Thus discrepancies can arise between an individual's way of life and the way he accepts and interprets his existence, between the cognitive and the militant aspects, between the theoretical and the emotional levels, etc. Another such contradiction in awareness is the persistence of mystical ideas, which has become an anachronism in the period of the great advances of the technical-scientific revolution and the people's self-determination. Religion and mysticism are remnants of older orders, inadequate knowledge of the facts, cultural backwardness and human alienation entirely incompatible with revolutionary ideology, contemporary science and the human condition under socialism. In this connection Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out the need of further use of the advances of science and historical and dialectical-materialist philosophy to arm the communists and other workers with a scientific understanding of the origins of the world, society and the laws that govern the universe.

Of course indoctrinating the masses in the spirit of the scientific conception of the world and life and forming materialist-atheist thought are a complex process involving a cognitive, axiological, attitudinal, militant and practical structure of a different kind. As contrasted with the other historical forms of atheism, Marxist philosophy views man and society in their unity and diversity and militates for a practical revolutionary reform of the human condition and consequently of the awareness in the direction of forming the scientific, materialist thinking of all members of society. Socialism eliminates the objective social conditions that were and are stimulating religious beliefs by abolishing exploitation and the exploiting classes and enabling people to stop considering themselves dominated by forces they cannot understand or influence. Against the background of the new conditions and the new kind of system represented by Romanian socialist society, effective efforts can be made to gradually eradicate the mystic religious remnants from people's awareness and behavior.

ALEXANDRU BOBOC: We can speak in this connection of a new effectiveness and a functional preeminence of the social-human values of the new society, which lend purpose and perspective to individual behavior and bring it into the flow of social-historical practice, leading to a better understanding of the need of everyone's participation in the common effort. The requirement for political-educational work to keep demonstrating the superiority of the socialist way of life, of the values of revolutionary humanism, and of full assertion of the individual's creative powers proves its viability against the background of that interaction focused on the behavioral values. As Nicolae Ceausescu said to this effect, "We must firmly oppose the various mystical and obscurantist manifestations that impede understanding of the real relationships between man and nature, of the laws that govern the universe, and of the objective requires of social development and retard man's effort toward purposeful self-determination." In fact the theoretical-scientific projection and the specific program to implement the new humanism are in an inseparable unity stemming directly from the militancy and realism of the revolutionary conception of the world, from the RCP's political and ideological maturity, and from its ability to harmonize the effort toward creative ideation with the actual effort to form the new man and the new social order. Hence also the need of close correlation of practical with theoretical activity, promotion of the new and the advanced values of the new society, and constant development of the revolutionary spirit.

#### The Revolutionary Spirit: a Major Aspect of Socialist Awareness

ION FLOREA: The aims of Romanian socialist society's development in the present stage are revolutionary, and they pursue qualitative changes and a new quality of production, work and life and of people's moral-political and intellectual character. Development of the role of the intensive and qualitative economic factors, modernization of the economic, organizational and administrative structures, development of the role of technical-scientific research and progress, greater efficiency and competitiveness, improved social and production relations, and the workers' participation in socioeconomic and all social management -- all those require in the highest degree a high socialist awareness, tireless and dedicated work, and a militant revolutionary spirit.

IOAN STANESCU: The constant, active and stimulating display of the revolutionary spirit in the new, third stage of the RCP Program, anticipated in the documents

of the 13th Party Congress, is objectively determined by the regular appearance, even in socialism, of the contradiction between the new and the old. The communists and all workers are called upon to promote the new in all activities consistently and to oppose manifestations of the old.

The revolutionary process and struggle are not over. They are going on under the new historical conditions, confronting theoretical and ideological work with the task of constantly promoting the militant spirit essential to unfailing implementation of the RCP Program. As the party general secretary pointed out, "We must always bear in mind that the dialectical laws definitely operate even in socialist society and probably in communist society too, so that we must study, understand and promptly note the appearance of the contradictions and take steps to resolve them. To that end we must put aside all that is old and no longer suitable, make way for the new, and take purposeful action to renovate society."

CONSTANTIN VASILE: Revolutionary awareness calls for a uniform structure of values, ideals, principles, attitudes and aspirations of the masses. In the light of this conception, if social awareness is to actually overtake social existence and become an active factor for changing existence, it must be formed according to the revolutionary ideals and it must promote the basic values of socialism and communism, establish the historical and dialectical-materialist interpretation of the world and life, and secure the triumph of social justice and equity, freedom and sovereignty.

Social awareness does not just provide an explanation of the world and life. It is also a real instrument of construction and reconstruction of the world and every individual's life. As Marx said on this subject in the well-known 11th point about Feuerbach, the mission and role of historical and dialectical-materialist philosophy are not only to interpret the world but also to change it (according to its revolutionary conception of it).

ION TUDOSESU: Among all the characteristics of revolutionary socialist awareness, I think the ones that stimulate its contribution to general social development most are the unity between action from necessity and action from freedom and the unity between science and humanism, between the values of revolutionary humanism and the scientific foundation of people's philosophical, political and ideological convictions. Indoctrination in the spirit of living in freedom requires practice of a humanism receptive to the continuity of the revolutionary process toward implementation of the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society. It is a humanism wherein human fulfillment comes only through work and a high sense of responsibility to country and people, and wherein the individual's necessities of life are satisfied only through society, by meeting its material and value terms. The new revolutionary humanism is one of struggle to promote the new and reject the old, one of militant commitment and integration of the individual in society on the socialist and communist level, and accordingly one of his personalization by society.

As the role of the purposeful factor in building the fully developed socialist society grows, the role of the state grows even further, especially in the ideological and political-educational effort to form the new man. In a more general way, the expanded and intensified operation of the organizational system of society in forming revolutionary awareness directly depends on development of the

leadership of the party as the vital center of the socialist nation in the whole construction of the new society.

As it has been said here, the task of building the new order requires advanced knowledge, science and the most efficient technology. Therefore the party believes the system of workers revolutionary democracy, consistently governed by the principle of democratic centralism, calls for both participation in decision-making and collective management, closely correlated with personal initiative and responsibility, and great competence and efficiency in decision-making and management. Hence the correspondences between revolutionary communist awareness and the science of social management in building the fully developed socialist society.

ALEXANDRU BOBOC: Development of the formative role and potentials of political-ideological work and its functioning as an integral part of construction of the new order reflect an objective necessity born of the whole process of uniform implementation of socialism and a new humanism emphasizing the individual and the lasting values of human knowledge and action.

As the RCP Program points out, ideological-educational work must be imbued with the humanist spirit of the revolutionary conception, focusing on the individual. Having a high political and ideological standard, every citizen will take purposeful action to further the general progress of socialist and communist society. In fact the very promotion of the principles of socialist ethics and justice projects a new value model and in general a new kind of man, the communist, who can assert his dignity and personality only through work, correlated with the effort toward his Marxist theoretical-scientific and political-ideological education. Accordingly, as the party general secretary pointed out in his Report to the 13th Party Congress, "We shall have to intensify the overall effort to enhance all the workers' revolutionary socialist awareness and to firmly oppose the various backward and obscurantist manifestations and attitudes toward work and life."

Raising the level of knowledge and improving training in any specialty and in any kind of work are inseparable from theoretical-ideological training in the spirit of the revolutionary conception of the world. Workers in any field must be good specialists but they must also be good revolutionaries, working resolutely for revolutionary social reform.

Actually the model of the new man or "total man" projected by Marx can be instituted only on the basis of the unified operation of all the factors (social, moral and intellectual) and a characteristic militancy reflecting the vitality typical of the new society and culture. The socialist system affords optimal conditions for a new value model and a new method of structuring the functions of awareness.

CONSTANTIN VASILE: Development of socialist awareness necessitates a system of ethical standards and values characteristic of socialist society but deeply rooted in the Romanian people's age-old history. In speaking of the permanence of the ethical standards and values and their role as motive forces in the Romanian nation's heroic history, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that the Romanian people's sensitivity and wisdom are reflected not only in their wealth of folk art of great beauty, depth and originality but also in a superior moral code emphasizing honor, humanity, love of work and nature, hardihood and fearlessness in the face of difficulties, courage and heroism.

On the basis of the new socioeconomic and political relations socialism is making a qualitative leap in promotion of the principles of socialist ethics and justice. Since the Ninth RCP Congress especially, the party leadership and Nicolae Ceausescu have emphasized development of the system of standards, values and principles of communist work and life. Promotion of the new axiological system of ethics does not mean that Romanian socialist society is solving the problems of developing social awareness and forming the new man and that of the complex relations between the individual and society all at once. Establishing the political power of the working class and starting socialist construction does not automatically solve the problems or lead to fulfillment of the socialist principles.

A regular and persevering educational effort is required if every member of society is to assimilate and apply the higher moral standards and convert them to lasting social values. We can also interpret the ethical principle in the whole development of socialist awareness in the light of the process of forming the uniform conception of the world and life. The central element that secures the theoretical-ideological unity of socialist awareness is the social ideal of communism, the ideal that expresses the supreme imperative and value and synthesizes all the moral principles and values of the new order, such as profound and complete dedication to the cause of socialism, revolutionary socialist patriotism and militant international solidarity, education by and for work, ethical responsibility and obligation, socialist equity, the new revolutionary humanism, freely accepted standards and discipline, the revolutionary spirit etc. The unity of all those moral principles and values is reflected in daily activity and the way everyone does his job in the overall social practice.

STANA BUZATU: I should like to mention here the evolution of the relationships among culture, science and awareness in the process of forming the new man. Of course it is difficult if not impossible to dissociate those components. It is difficult to imagine a social awareness without assimilated human experience, stored and transmitted to the fund of knowledge, values and social-human practices with socializing, integrating functions. Yet I do not think we can overlook the actual conditions confronting us, those that sometimes still reveal gaps and dysfunctions in the structures and content of social awareness. Such dysfunctions are generated both by absolutizing and isolating intellectual concerns, confining them strictly to a profession, and by the opposite tendency to empty the human values the new society is promoting of their professional, scientific, cultural and social-historical content.

To be sure the professional ideal cannot be attained without the dedication, to the point of identification and sacrifice, to reach perfection. It is not the virtues of professional performances in themselves (actually desirable and necessary as increasingly comprehensive traits of social groups and individuals) that cause the dysfunctions, but the reductionist, fragmentary interpretation of the professional specialty, which Nicolae Ceausescu has frankly, unequivocally and repeatedly called narrow technicism, at the Mangalia Conference especially. It is a matter of the metaphysical way of isolating anything that transcends, in one way or another, the area of "paid" or "remunerated" pursuits, bringing up another problem about which not much has been said in our discussion, namely the relationship between private and civic or individual and community activity. The problem is particularly serious because the program policies of promoting the model of the fully developed personality cannot be implemented with fragmentations of

this kind. As totalizing value nuclei of some better ways of life and of relating to a community, self-management and self-administration require just such surpluses of knowledge, training and action in keeping with the principles instituted on the scale of the whole social system. I do not think I have to prove how great are the pitfalls of "sensible" and "indifferent" confinement to the limited role of mere performance of strictly defined professional duties and those of isolation from the collective and the civic obligations imposed by all social-political activity, usually because of narrow attitudes and actually improper judgments of values.

Marx' concept of the "total man" as a model of communist society is to be understood, I believe, in the historical sense of building the new order. We cannot reach the multilateral state without awareness of the course to be taken, and I think that course toward the multilateral state necessarily runs through a speciality, through a beginning to be something in the social division of labor and to be accordingly useful to the society and nation to which you belong. On the other hand, the multilateral state can be easily confused with dilletantism, not only in theory but also in the social practices, which require more and more effective processes of forming socialist awareness.

CONSTANTIN SIRBU: I should like to point out too that formation of economic thinking suited to the facts of the new order and the requirements of the modern productive forces in continuous development and restructuring is important in the whole process of forming revolutionary socialist awareness. It is one of the guarantees of effective use of self-administration and workers self-management. The ability of the management collectives in enterprises and institutions to make decisions efficiently and conversion of of those collectives, in every unit, to real bodies for efficient regulation of the activity and for synchronizing the entire staff's efforts considerably depend upon economic thinking, which I believe has to be formed back in high school and college.

Centralized management and the Unified Plan for Economic Development do not lessen but increase the importance of the economic thinking of those called upon to manage and directly administrate the national wealth and the material, human and financial resources of the economic units. The RCP regards the socialist economy as composite of units fully capable of self-management, thought, decisions and competent and regular communication with the center and the coordinating institutions. Only the united efforts of the enterprises, which are capable of innovation in matters of management and organization especially, can produce a truly purposeful and scientific development of the economy and society as a whole. Since the laws of the land and the decisions are generally valid, they are carried out under a wide variety of conditions, requiring advanced economic thinking on the part of the enterprises and direct producers.

Awareness of work well done is an integral part of socialist awareness, sound occupational training and promotion of the revolutionary spirit. The bearers of this awareness do not feel satisfied or think they have done their duty unless they have also met the quality indicators vital to the progress of the economy, science and culture. But at not a few points some producers still think they have performed their tasks and obligations if they have manufactured the quantity of products specified in the plan. Under the social division of labor, quality is obtained only by sustained efforts at all points in the economic system.

General cooperation in support of quality and effectiveness on the scale of all society require a high awareness and work well done by all workers.

The quality of the output and of the social relations accordingly depends upon the intrinsic quality and awareness of people. People are products of society, but it is equally true that society is the product of people. Material production itself as a primary controlling factor requires the action of the superstructure, without which it cannot function. People are in the center of the productive forces and work there, and they are also the subjects of the social and production relations. They are bearers of working skills and an awareness. Awareness is formed to a great extent by sectors outside of material production, by a whole series of institutions belonging to the superstructure (educational and cultural units, political organizations etc.). Those superstructural institutions and the superstructure in general are consequently indispensable to the existence and development of material production.

PETRU PANZARU: I think all social relations and activities and ownership relations especially, playing such an important part in determining the existential status of the social classes and categories, can and should be viewed in the light of the dialectical unity of social existence and awareness. Ownership relations are clearly of an objective socioeconomic nature, and they are legally and institutionally sanctioned. At the same time they are supported by the awareness and feeling of ownership and accordingly by subjective, psychological and psychosocial factors. An important problem in growth and consolidation of socialist property is that of forming and developing the masses' socialist awareness as coowners of the production means and their sense of responsibility for its protection and growth. The measures initiated and adopted by the RCP for establishing and permanently advancing workers self-management and self-administration, especially by instituting workers' participation with social shares in forming the socioeconomic units' development funds, are powerful incentives and an objective basis for enhancing the workers' awareness as owners, producers and beneficiaries and for complete fulfillment of the principles of working, living and thinking that are characteristic of socialism.

I think the systems of interests, as motive forces and basic motivations for social action, are among the most important and significant reflections of the dialectical unity of existence and awareness, interests being perceived (subjectively) needs (objective). The combination of personal with social interests and the emphasis on the nation's collective and long-term interests rather than on temporary or group interests are important factors for complete fulfillment of the principles and aims of socialist society and demonstration of its superiority over capitalist society based on individualism and privatism.

The very operation of the social laws is a result of the unity of the objective and subjective factors, since the inexorable requirements of those social laws must be scientifically understood and purposefully satisfied, avoiding both voluntarism and fatalism. As it has already been said here, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in this connection at the 13th RCP Congress the need of purposeful action in applying the economic laws, to the exclusion of both voluntarism and automatic operation of the laws. The party general secretary said, "The new mechanism and the general economic laws must not be applied haphazardly but purposefully. Therein lies the leadership of the party and the socialist state."



In their turn the exercise and development of the party's leadership are the result of combination of the objective, institutional and organizational factors with the subjective ones of a high awareness and sense of political responsibility displayed in social practice by every party organ and organization, every communist and every worker. In Romanian socialist society the role of the subjective, purposeful factors, without divorcing them from the objective ones, is growing to the point where they are acquiring controlling functions and becoming motives for social practice and for a new and qualitatively higher social standard.

ION FLOREA: The Romanian workers' socialist awareness is eminently political by virtue of its content, being primarily awareness of the common interests and purposes and of the socialist and communist ideal that inspires the members of Romanian society. It is awareness of the entire people's unity around the party and its general secretary and awareness of brotherhood and cooperation at work and in life of all Romanian citizens regardless of nationality. The party's revolutionary ideology and policy, reflecting the vital common interests, are assimilated and implemented by the workers and provide the main ideational content of their socialist awareness, while determining the committed and responsible action of society as a whole.

To be sure this characteristic of socialist awareness does not mean we underrate its other traits, but politics play a predominant and very active part in all areas of society, including awareness. Politics do not exist as an absolutely autonomous field in themselves, divorced from social, economic, cultural, scientific and other activities. Political awareness reflects the identification of every member of society with the objective interests and general tasks of Romanian socialist society, naturally in the particular kind of work that each member is doing in one sector or another. Of course the eminently political character of socialist awareness does not exclude the fact that everyone has his own professional, family or other interests, but by its very nature socialism creates the objective basis for harmonizing the general, particular and individual interests of the members of society. Even more than that, it is only by harmonizing them that the background is formed for fulfilling the rational individual interests and for the real all-around development of the personality.

The political aspect of socialist awareness is also reflected in such basic values and principles of the new socialist morality as collectivism, collaboration and solidarity, the new attitude toward work and public property, social justice and equity, socialist patriotism, humanism etc.

ALEXANDRU BOBOC. As it has been pointed out here, development of socialist awareness and the new man is a far-reaching and lengthy process that is actually never finished, because it is expressed in particular terms for every generation. Concentration of all the factors, political, instructive-educational, social-public, cultural, and the effects of the family, workers collectives and society as a whole, under party leadership, is essential to the success of this difficult undertaking intended to humanize and ennoble the individual. Party management of political-ideological and cultural-educational work guarantees enhancement of its role as a powerful motive force for Romanian society's progress and for bringing the Romanian people up to new heights of material and cultural creativity and of socialist and communist civilization.



ROMANIA

ILIE CEAUSESCU REVIEWS COUNTRY'S HISTORY

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 8 May 85 pp 8-11

[Corneliu Leu interviews Lt. Gen. Ilie Ceausescu, Ph.D. in history: "History as the Testimony of Romania's Present"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Military history may be described as more than just one of the departments of history.

The relationship between the sphere of the concept representing this branch or chapter and the sphere of the concept that embraces the entire discipline is one of the most interesting phenomena, studied by none other than... history!

Because it is very possible that the concept of history itself--particularly written history--may have developed precisely from the seed of military history, the history of wars, victories, and defeats marking stages in the development of nations or of all mankind. If we stop to think, even the borderlines between historical stages or eras are marked by elements of military history, while the beginnings of written history were penned by people involved in military campaigns.

I do not know whether Herodotus realized that his writings would become history, but it is clear that he accompanied armies with the purpose of writing about what they met in their path. Even emperors and army commanders took pen in hand and wrote history--witness De Bello Galico. And later, chroniclers tersely noted the passing of a ruler with the essential mention: "...And they fought the enemy in the year... in a place called..."

Thus, as a source and stimulus of history, military history deserves special study of its dialectics in relation to the basic, general science. Not to mention the important function of contemporary military studies, important because of the moral character of this science.

In keeping with the progress of all the branches of Romanian science, we are proud to note the particular successes recorded by the Romanian contemporary school of military history, and, on the eve of one of mankind's great anniversaries--the victory over fascism--we come to you, comrade Lt. Gen. Dr. Ilie Ceausescu: what can you tell us about Romania's contribution to this triumph of reason and modern humanitarianism, and about our contribution to

the most progressive event of the century? Because the Victory that is today marked in letters of gold defeated the worst forces of darkness and dispelled the threat that was attempting to negate the concept of humanity from its general contemporary development.

As is known, Romania made a noteworthy contribution to defeating Nazi Germany and Horthyst Hungary, and the Romanian people lost many sons in the struggle against fascism. What are the highlights of Romania's contribution to the victory won 40 years ago?

[Answer] Romania's entry into the anti-Hitlerite war was a political decision of an overwhelming importance, taken by domestic political factors, among which the most decisive was the RCP. This decision was not brought about by any foreign conjecture, nor was it imposed from outside or previously coordinated under understandings with the United Nations powers. It was the decision of the entire Romanian nation, an act of complete and legitimate national sovereignty, and an expression of the Romanian people's adamant determination to safeguard their independence and, at the same time, to contribute to crushing fascism--the most dangerous enemy threatening the freedom and independence of other peoples and the existence of human civilization. The historic moment of Romania's entry, with all its human and material forces, into direct and effective struggle against the Third Nazi Reich was marked by the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for national and social liberation of August 1944, initiated, organized, and led by the RCP. Romania's contribution to the victory won 40 years ago assumed many aspects and facets. We will only cite a few. One of these aspects is highlighted by the number of troops engaged by the Romanian state in the antifascist war. Between 23 August 1944 and 12 May 1945 Romania put about 540,000 troops on the anti-Hitlerite front. If we relate this figure to Romania's demographic conditions of the time, we can state without any exaggeration that, from the viewpoint of the number of troops directly engaged in the struggle to defeat Hitlerite Germany and Horthyst Hungary, Romania rates among the first states of the coalition of United Nations, i.e., after the Soviet Union, the United States, and England.

Another facet of our country's military effort in the antifascist war is the geographical area and the continuity of the Romanian military presence in the struggle against the enemy. Thus, as of 23 August 1944 and until 12 May 1945, that is to say, for over 8 months, the Romanian troops fought, together with the Soviet troops, on an area that covered, aside from the national territory, the greatest part of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and a good part of Austria. Along this line we must stress the fact that the Romanian troops advanced along a vitally important strategic line, from the the direction of the south-east European front, where the Hitlerites and Horthysts had massed strong armies and organized powerful resistance positions, zones, or lines reinforced by enormous quantities of military equipment.

One of the particularly important aspects of Romania's contribution to the great victory concerns the political and strategic consequences of its entry in the anti-Hitlerite coalition on 23 August 1944, the combat preparedness of the Romanian army, and the efficiency of the military operations it staged with the broad and manysided support of all the people for the benefit of the

lofty cause of freeing the homeland from foreign occupation and crushing fascism. Many foreign political and military experts said then that thanks to the historic act of 23 August 1944, and to the fact that our entire army turned their arms and that Romania joined the anti-Hitlerite coalition with its entire human and material resources, the duration of World War II was shortened by about 6 months, thus saving the world from great additional human losses and material damage. As for the efficiency of Romania's military operations in the service of the cause of crushing fascism, we must recall that alone in the initial stage of its participation in the anti-Hitlerite war--the insurrection of August 1944--the Romanian forces chased the Wehrmacht troops out of an area totaling some 150,000 square km, i.e., 75 percent of the territory that was then under Romanian state authority (in view of the territorial amputation caused by the odious fascist dictate of Vienna of 30 August 1940). In other words, in only 8 days of bitter fighting against the Hitlerite troops, the Romanian troops, patriotic guards, and other fighters engaged in a genuine popular war, and destroyed, captured, or chased out German military units from a geographical area equal to the territories of Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Switzerland put together. During the same period, the Romanian insurrectionist troops inflicted on the enemy human losses equaling six Wehrmacht divisions. Similarly, the enemy lost 222 planes (which was one third of the aircraft belonging to Germany's "Southern Ukraine" divisions), 498 ships of various types, thousands of artillery guns, close to 600 vehicles, etc. At the same time, the Romanian troops succeeded in establishing and holding a "bridgehead" of great strategic importance beyond the Southern Carpathians, in southern Transylvania and Banat, stretching over approximately 50,000 square km., which was vital both for preventing German access to the areas of insurrectionist battles, and for permitting a great concentration of Romanian and Soviet units beyond the Carpathian chain, poised to launch the offensive toward central Europe, along the general direction of Cluj-Budapest-Prague.

As is known, from the beginning of September 1944 the Romanian army, in cooperation with the Soviet army, fought bitter battles to liberate Transylvania from Hitlerite-Horthyst occupation. After freeing the entire territory of the fatherland on 25 October, the Romanian army continued the struggle across the borders, and, together with the Soviet army, it actively participated in the difficult battles against fascism until the end of the war in Europe, thus making an important contribution to liberating Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and part of Austria. From 23 August 1944 until 12 May 1945, the Romanian troops advanced uninterruptedly along 1,700 km. from the Black Sea to the heart of Europe, to Bohemia; the Romanian operational troops, which totaled over half a million men, forged 12 waterways, scaled 20 mountains, freed 3,800 localities (including 53 towns), and took about 136,000 prisoners. In the fierce battles fought against the Hitlerite and Horthyst war machine, the Romanian people had over 170,000 men killed, injured, or missing.

To Romania's military contribution to the anti-Hitlerite war--a telling expression of Romania's contribution to the great victory of 40 years ago--we must also add its economic contribution. Following the RCP's mobilizing appeal "Everything for the front, everything for victory!" the Romanian people made enormous sacrifices to provide material support for the just anti-Hitlerite

war. In general terms, Romania's economic contribution to defeating Nazi Germany and crushing fascism totaled over \$1 billion in 1938 money.

Proceeding from these realities, extensively reflected in archive documents and in statements of the time, the decision of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee on the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and of "Romania's Independence Day" states: "In view of the number of troops it sent to the front and the material and human resources mobilized in support of the anti-Hitlerite war, Romania was described by many prominent United Nations personalities, including the participants in the Paris Peace Conference, as rating fourth among the countries that contributed to defeating Hitlerite Germany, after the Soviet Union, the United States, and England." Thus, in the balance sheet of the war presented at the Paris Peace Conference, the Soviet foreign minister stressed: "We all know that Romania was the state that staged a resolute action to remove the Antonescu regime and join the Allies... Together with us and with the Allied troops, the new democratic Romania joined the struggle to defeat Hitler and made considerable sacrifices in this struggle; we all recognize the sacrifices made by the Romanian people for this cause." In his turn, British Deputy I. Thomas said in the Chamber of Commons: "Since Romania rates fourth from the viewpoint of men on the front against Germany, it should be proposed that it be granted the status of cobelligerent."

[Question] How is this great contribution by our people to a cause that can be described as humanity's general cause, the defeat of fascism, reflected in contemporary consciousness?

[Answer] After the victory of the historic act of 23 August 1944, the turning of the army against Hitlerite Germany, and Romania's entry into the United Nations camp--events with considerable consequences and implications for the progress and outcome of the antifascist war--international public opinion registered the scope of these events almost instantaneously and quite faithfully. Statements of various officials of the time, foreign radio commentaries, and press articles in various countries are, we think, edifying along this line. For example, at a press conference held in Washington on 24 August 1944, U.S. State Department Secretary Cordell Hull said that thanks to Romania's joining the Allies, "the Nazis must realize that their occupation of the Balkans is collapsing." On the same day, Radio London stated: "Romania has now joined the United Nations that are today fighting for civilization and against German domination in Europe. Romania's deed is an act of great courage that will hasten the end of the war. Germany's situation in the Balkans is approaching a terrible catastrophe." "Romania's departure from the fascist Axis," said a PRAVDA article on 27 August 1944, "is important not just for the Romanian people. The foreign press correctly asserts that the entire German defense system in the Balkans has collapsed... The blow dealt to the entire system of Nazi domination in the Balkans cannot be overestimated."

On 13 January 1946 a Paris radio commentary came to the following conclusion: "France believes that Romania's contribution will shorten the war by at least 6 months." We could fill many, many newspaper pages with similar examples. Later, however, especially in the post-war era, appropriate, real, and correct representations of the political and military consequences of the Romanian

people's act of 23 August 1944 and of Romania's contribution to crushing fascism were somewhat blurred, particularly in the "cold war" period; recently, however, the importance and role of Romania's participation in defeating fascism have been stressed more frequently and more truthfully in various works of history, magazine articles, newspapers, etc. Foreign newspapers and magazines--in France, Italy, the United States, Mexico, and so forth--have emphasized, for example, the fact that Romania's contribution shortened World War II by 200 days. Last year, the popular magazine DER SPIEGEL stated, among other things, that "Up to the last onslaught on Hitler's Germany, the Romanian army... rated fourth in size after the Russians, Americans, and British. Alongside the Russians, it traveled 1,000 km. westward to the Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, and Austria." This year even, at the beginning of March, Polish paper POLYTIKA noted: "By the number of troops on the front and the material and human forces engaged, Romania rated--according to many prominent personalities of the United Nations coalition, including participants in the Paris Peace Conference--fourth among the countries that contributed to the defeat of Hitlerite Germany, after the Soviet Union, the United States, and England." Such statements are naturally in keeping with historical truth and constitute, at the same time, a mark of recognition for Romania's active past and present international efforts to resolutely defend the independence and sovereignty of all the states, and for peaceful coexistence and mansided cooperation among all the countries of the world.

[Question] According to the classical classification, history belongs to the family of positive sciences, the branch of moral sciences. Hearing these arguments, which demonstrate everything that is dear to us and our country's and people's contribution to the great triumph of humanity over the dark forces of the 20th century, we gain a clearer understanding of this classification. Indeed, through simple patriotic pride we grasp the scientific reasons for classifying history on the moral side of knowledge and research. The loftiest moral act of 20th century mankind is recorded in the history of World War II through the nations' effort to deny fascism as a retrograde spirit, an effort crowned by the Victory of May 1945. And the fact that our country and people, through the feelings they represent, clearly emerged, in all their underlying traits, as a first class antifascist force, constitutes a reason to be proud and an additional argument in favor of the claim that history is a moral science. It is a great moral science, I dare stress, because it consistently highlights the great lessons it contains for the nations and for the progress of humanity. Thus, I believe that the reconstruction, in general lines, of this important event in our national history--Romania's active contribution to the victory over fascism--affords us an opportunity for a more in-depth discussion on the meaning and scope of our millenary historical evolution. What is the role of history in society, and what is its educational value?

[Answer] History, as the reconstruction of the past, plays an extremely important role in the life of peoples and states. By recording past experience, it ensures that this experience will be passed from generation to generation. At the same time, due to the manner in which it records, interprets, and presents the facts, ideas, and values of the past, history also constitutes an irreplaceable source of lessons for the present and future. By adopting what was most positive in the past in every area and examining, in

the spirit of dialectical and historical materialism, humanity's huge capital of experience, we can arrive at paths of progressive development and of building a peaceful future. Thus, aside from being a powerful tool of human knowledge, the science of history also constitutes a genuine material force for building the present and the future, inspired by revolutionary and renovating contents. According to our party and state leader, history and historical research, "far from being a documentary investigation of the past, is to a large extent--as life shows--a science of the present, too. History provides conclusions and lessons on the major processes of social development and on the life of peoples across the centuries, and highlights both what was valuable and progressive and served the progress of society, and the obstacles that slowed down evolution and proved costly to mankind by delaying the progress of certain nations. Historical research can help contemporary humanity gain a better understanding of the objective laws governing society and of the need to act in a progressive spirit." In view of these realities, our history science is currently engaged in an extensive renovating process that came into being with the Ninth RCP Congress.

[Question] what are the basic guidelines of this renovating process in the national history science, both in the general and military history?

[Answer] They are the guidelines that the RCP program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and advance toward communism, and our party-state leadership have established for the entire national history science. It is our exceptionally important duty to highlight in our works the millenary existence, unity, and continuity of our people in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area. With the aid of the specific tools of history, we must highlight in their true dimensions both our ancient ethnic origin, and the fierce and unrelenting struggle waged by the Romanian people across the centuries to preserve their existence, unity, and continuity in the land in which they were born, and to defend their independence and sovereignty.

[Question] History fulfills a major role in every society. It defines the self-awareness of a people, reflects their aspirations, and serves as the foundations on which and through which they build their future and shape their destiny. Along this line, what do you view now as the main purpose and end objective of this reconstruction of our national history? Of history in general, but, as we said, of our military history in particular?

[Answer] During a certain period--which is now fortunately behind us thanks to the fact that our communist party and its secretary general restored our history to its rights--our national history was being written in a strange, and even--the truth should not be circumvented, however painful--harmful manner. Let me explain. According to this "interpretation," we, Romanians, appeared as a people that had allegedly crystallized on the ethnographic map of the continent in the 9th, 10th, 12th, or even 13th and 14th centuries. This unscientific, harmful, and aberrant view in fact distorted the incontestable historical truth that the Romanian people go back thousands of years and have lived without interruption in their ancestral land--the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic region. Unscientific and harmful theses were being circulated concerning the age, continuity, and unity of the Romanian nation, despite incontestable historical proof and despite the statements left by our

eminent chroniclers and by a pleiad of renowned historians of the past. Our older historians--Nicolae Balcescu, Grigore Tocilescu, Vasile Parvan, Nicolae Iorga, and others--never hesitated to speak of--and brilliantly supported their claims--the multimillenary history of our people. Nicolae Iorga, our illustrious historian of worldwide reputation, justly asserted that the Romanian people, "by their ancestors, have 4 times millenary roots; this is our pride and strength." Nicolae Iorga and many other famous Romanian historians left substantiated views as to the fact that the Romanian people was formed 2,000 years ago in the area bordered by the Black Sea, Danube, and the Carpathian Mountains, and that they did not come from elsewhere, but that during difficult times, our ancestors struggled relentlessly to defend their national existence and unity and what had been theirs since times immemorial.

From the chroniclers and from Romanian historians of the past we have valuable information according to which, from the viewpoint of statal organization and development, the Romanians' ancestors established tribes, unions of tribes, and statal structures in their Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic ethnogenic home, and, 2,050 years ago, as the apogee of their capabilities, strength, and historical destiny, they formed the independent and centralized Dacian state under Burebista. Having lived in their ancestral lands without interruption, the Romanians imposed themselves from the beginning of antiquity as the true and only forgers of the material and spiritual civilization built across the centuries, a civilization that they defended with dignity and self-sacrifice. Becoming one with the land of their birth, with its mountains and plains, rivers and proud forests, our people remained immovable in their ancestral cradle and defended their lives and existence. "The entire history of the Romanian people" stresses the party program, "is a history of continual class struggles and of the masses' struggle for freedom and social justice, for defending their national existence and independence, for progress and civilization. From the first emergence of the Romanian statal structures, the masses' struggle against feudal exploitation was closely linked to their struggle against foreign domination. This particular trait left its mark on Romania's entire social development, on the Romanian people's thinking, and on their historical destiny, which is characterized by resolute and devoted struggle for freedom and unity, and for the right to be masters in their own country."

[Question] Asserting this truth--a thoroughly substantiated truth that is now beyond denial--can you establish the sources and specific features of this relentless and unending struggle waged by our people to defend their existence?

[Answer] Firstly, we must stress that since the very distant past, beginning with the Geto-Dacians and throughout the following historical stages, the Romanian people found in themselves the strength, force, and capability to withstand the vicissitudes of history and enemy waves. The main factor of the Romanian's power of resistance was always the country and its people, the material, demographic, and moral resources of the people. Noting this truth, a Romanian socialist wrote, almost 100 years ago, that the Romanian's power to resist wave after wave of invaders laid "in our people, who always succeeded in industriously preserving and defending this land against all invaders and aggressors."

Secondly, we must emphasize the fact that the Romanians remained in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic basin throughout millenia not only as a people, but also as a state, thanks to continual, glorious, and victorious struggle against all vicissitudes; whenever the country was in danger, they called to arms all those who were capable of bearing arms and of inflicting losses on the aggressors. This type of warfare--which our 2,000-years old history attests with the undeniable authority of facts--is summed up in what we Romanians call "the small army" and "the big army" of the country, and in the fact that the entire nation went to war to defend the country. Referring to this point, Nicole Balcescu correctly stated that "every Romanian is born with the duty to become a soldier and defend the state at times of need; when the enemy trod on Romanian soil, the entire country was up in arms." "The struggle of the entire nation" against invaders has been, in our multimillenary history --since the first documented mention, 2,500 years ago, of the Dacians' resistance against the Persian expeditionary corps led by King Darius I and until today--the means of our survival as a people and a state, and a genuine condition for historical existence. This original and specifically Romanian type of warfare today represents--in the complex conditions of the contemporary world--our official state doctrine, brilliantly founded by the party secretary general and incorporated in laws and regulations.

[Question] What do you view as the highlights of this persevering and long struggle waged by all our people to defend their free historical existence and their ancestral home?

[Answer] One of the particularly intensive and significant stages in our national history was the Dacians' resistance against the major expansionist movements of the time: Persian, Macedonian, and Roman. During the confrontations between the Dacians and Romans, two titans with exceptional qualities rose from among the Dacians: Burebista and Decebal; they were political, diplomatic, and military personalities who forged a place for the Dacians among the civilized nations of the antiquity. They were the soul of the resistance against the hosts of the most feared empire of the time, the Roman empire. Vasile Parvan said about the confrontation between Dacians and Romans: "The defense of the Dacian soil by its people was a hymn of love rarely sung by nations to their endangered homeland."

A crucial stage in our existence as a nation was the period of Dacian-Roman coexistence after the 105-106 A.D. war and until Aurelianus' withdrawal in 271.

As is documented in ancient sources, the Dacians never became reconciled with foreign occupation; they waged heroic resistance struggles, in various forms, and finally succeeded in chasing out the occupation and reuniting ancient Dacia. During this historical interval, the Dacians adopted Latin language and culture elements and formed the Romanian people, 2,000 years ago. The bimillenary existence of the Romanian people is one of the elements of our present consciousness, charged with intense emotions, and a perennial source of national pride and optimism concerning our own historical destiny.



The struggle against successive waves of migratory peoples in the 4th-13th centuries was another distinct period in our historical evolution. Confronting foes who were often overwhelmingly superior from the viewpoint of numbers and weapons, the Romanians made whatever sacrifices were necessary and bravely succeeded each time in preserving their ethnic identity and social-political organization. Relying on their own effort and sacrifices, the Romanians came out of all these fierce battles as winners. They thus provided historical proof for the fact that nothing and no one can stand in the way of a people determined to live in freedom and independence: not the great numbers of invaders, nor their might.

[Question] Throughout this centuries-long struggle, the Romanians recorded another performance, a truly astounding performance in comparison with other historical experiences: they preserved their own identity throughout the entire area of their ancestral homeland.

[Answer] The struggle to preserve national-territorial unity was always one of the defining traits of our historical evolution. Generally speaking, the struggle to achieve national unity and to reunite the people within the same state was one of the major elements of the Romanians' efforts to preserve their own identity and to achieve manysided development. As is known from various sources, when the Romanian armies withdrew in the face of the invasion of migratory populations, the Romanian people, organized in specific political forms--described by Nicolae Iorga as the so-called "popular romanies"--stayed behind to defend their land, the goods they had amassed through their own work and sweat, and their community of interests. Gradually, they organized new political structures, the vojvodships, which resolutely fought off foreign invaders and defended themselves. The vojvodship--a specific Romanian structure--was the supreme political, military, and administrative-legal authority. Despite Hungarian attempts to dominate it, Transylvania, an ancient Romanian region, preserved unchanged the specific Romanian institution, the vojvodship.

After a long period of time, during which the economic, territorial, cultural, and linguistic community of interests of the Romanian people was crystallized and cemented in the geographical area inhabited by Romanians, conditions appeared, albeit belatedly, for the transition to a superior form of political organization, namely to the formation of the three Romanian principalities: Romania, Moldavia, and Transylvania. As was stressed at the RCP Central Committee plenum of 1-2 June 1982, the three Romanian principalities "were born and developed in the struggle against foreign domination and for unity within a strong state, capable of withstanding foreign invasions and of developing independently." Throughout that period, the relations between the Transylvanian vojvodship and the Hungarian kingdom were typically feudal relations, i.e., suzerain-vassal relations; when Hungary disappeared from the European map, having been turned into a Turkish province in 1541, Transylvania remained autonomous in relation to the Ottoman empire, having the same internaional status as the other two Romanian feudal states. When, in 1600, Michael the Brave restored, for a short period of time, Romanian political unity and became, according to Nicolae Iorga, "a genuine Dacian king" as the natural follower of Burebista and Decebal, his achievement was imprinted on the consciousness of the next generations as a condition for their own

historical existence. In writing his monumental work, The Romanians under Michael the Brave, the famous historian Nicolae Balcescu did more than compose a valuable work of history; he laid out a veritable political program for his generation, for the revolution of 1848, the 1859 unification, and the winning of absolute state independence in 1877. In 1918, when we were politically reunited in our ancestral and present land through acts of popular self-determination, we fulfilled an aspiration that had never died in the soul of the Romanian people and for which many generations of forefathers had fought for centuries. History has taught us that unity is one of our most valuable possessions, that no sacrifice is too great to preserve it, and that to renounce it is to negate our history and our own being. Statal unity, together with our deep roots and continuity in the ancestral Dacian home are the fundamental traits of the Romanian people's historical development, the traits that define our place and role in world history.

It is undeniably true that in our times, the Romanian nation and Romania enjoy huge international prestige precisely because of their resolute policy of preserving national unity, independence, and our own identity. Foreign personalities have repeatedly emphasized that this effort to defend unity and independence plays a role of universal scope. Not only does united and independent Romania of today constitute of model for countries and nations engaged in winning and consolidating their own freedom, but it also provides real support for nations under foreign domination, which find in our country a strong support for rejecting imperialist interference and building a free future for themselves. Today, like so many times in the past, by defending their own independence, the Romanian people in fact accomplish an historical deed of vast scope and implications for world history.

[Question] Having defined and substantiated all these ideas, I think we can now dare to approach a question that not only I, as you interviewer, felt the need to ask from the very beginning, but that I am convinced that many of our readers raise with justified national pride: What is our contribution to world history, how and to what extent have we influenced certain international historical developments, what was our impact on them, and what Romanian contributions are worthy of being marked in the history of humanity?

[Answer] The exceptional destiny of the Romanian people is also highlighted by their noteworthy contribution to world history. Nicolae Iorga wrote a fundamental work on this point entitled "The Place of the Romanians in World History." With his impressive erudition and astounding ability to perceive historical phenomena, the reputed historian isolated major world events in which we Romanians played an active and considerable role. Iorga's concept in this respect is very topical: the place and role of a nation in world history do not depend on its demographic potential or the size of its territory. We, Romanians have been continuously involved in major historical events and have often influenced their course. We frequently set an example for other nations in their struggle for freedom and independence. For close to 200 years, the existence of a powerful, centralized, and independent Dacian state on Dacian soil constituted a considerable obstacle in the way of Roman expansion, as well as a rallying center for the efforts of other peoples wishing to preserve their freedom. This was also one of the major reasons that Rome unleashed its war to conquer Dacia and continued it for almost 20 years. The result was not

that expected by the Romans: even after the establishment of the Roman province, the powerful state of free Dacia continued to exist and to wage its liberation struggle. There have been many occasions on which the Romanians demonstrated their great potential for actions with profound implications for neighboring areas. To mention just one, there was the period of the Asanesti, the Romanian dynasty whose vigor, supported by the Romanians in the south Danubian area, created a powerful state in the Balkans between the 7th and 13th centuries, which became a feared opponent of the Byzantine Empire. Even if some foreign historians are now trying to "annex" events from our past to their own history, the truth remains the truth. As for the state of the Asanesti, it clearly constitutes a particular expression of the exceptional national creativity of the Romanian people, as well as an example of the support that they accorded in the past to other peoples' liberation struggle. Another significant event in which the Romanians asserted themselves in European and world history was the epic resistance against the Ottoman Empire in the 14th and 15th centuries, when the Romanian feudal states, led by famous military leaders such as Basarab I, Mircea the Old, Stefan the Great, Ioan of Hunedoara, Vlad the Impaler, Michael the Brave, and others, formed a genuine shield for Europe against Ottoman expansion. The great military successes recorded by the Romanian armies in so very many confrontations with the Ottoman troops, whose numbers could not even be counted, and the blood they shed to halt the invaders thirsty for spoils and war adventures, permitted many other European countries to develop and advance economically and socially. Referring to this truth, Mihail Kogalniceanu rightly said that Europe must know of and appreciate the military achievements of the Romanian armies, "the national struggle of the Romanians who, for almost 3 centuries, defended Christianity sword in hand against all the powers of Islam; the rule of Alexandru the Good and Mircea the Old, whose names resounded from the Baltic Sea to the gates of Byzantium; the brilliant feats of Stefan the Great, and the proud, Achilles-like figure of Michael the Brave, the only vojvod who had succeeded in uniting the regions of old Dacia... All these sacrifices and feats would arouse amazement even among foreigners if our history were better known."

A decisive moment when the Romanians forcefully asserted themselves in the history of the Balkans, of Europe, and of the world was the 1877-1878 war. As is known, Romania's entry in the 1877-1878 independence war had a considerable effect on the outcome of the war between the Tsarist and Ottoman Empires and was largely instrumental in the defeat of the latter. Equally important was the role played by the struggle waged by the Romanian army and Romania itself against the imperialism of the Kaiser's Germany in World War I. The fact that our army opened up a new front against the Central Powers on Romanian territory forced them to remove troops from the other theaters of operations, especially from the western front, and thus had a positive impact on the final outcome of the war. Closer to our times, we should recall the noteworthy influence of the Romanian people's revolutionary act of 23 August 1944 on World War II. The victory of the Romanian revolution, the turn-about of the army, and Romania's joining the coalition of the United Nations contributed, among other things, to shortening the war by about 200 days. As for the present, as I said, the resolute policy of independence and sovereignty that our party and state consistently promote provides a valuable support to other nations struggling for a free and independent development.

[Question] What were, in your opinion, the results of the Romanian people's marked involvement in world history? Were they beneficial to us, or did they slow down our own historical development?

[Answer] Evidently, struggling for centuries to win, defend, and consolidate their own independence, the Romanians accomplished historical feats that had a major influence on and beyond Europe. The one and only purpose of our centuries-long struggles was to defend our ancestral land and our unity, freedom, and independence. We, Romanians, never coveted other people's possessions and never waged war to conquer, annex, or enslave other nations. Aware of what freedom means for a nation, the Romanians always respected the dignity of other peoples; moreover, they helped them preserve and consolidate it as much as they could. The only objective of the wars waged by the Romanian people was to defend their freedom and unity, their ancestral land, and the country's borders. From this viewpoint, too, the results have been positive. For example, in the Middle Ages, the Romanian states were the only ones in this part of the continent to preserve an autonomous, independent existence, while others--the Bulgarian, Serbian, Albanian, Hungarian, and Polish states--were dismantled and divided up among the big powers of the time, which turned them into their own provinces. This historical fact--the autonomous existence of the Romanian states--was the direct result of our defense struggles and of the blood shed by generation after generation on the battlefield. At the same time, however, through this fact itself, the Romanians fulfilled a very important role for all Europe. Along this line, our party secretary general said: "The countless battles that the Romanian people had to fight across history, /.../ all this suffering and struggles steeled them, cemented their willpower and determination, increased their love for their fatherland, and reinforced their resolve not to succumb to any difficulty and not to spare any sacrifice in defending their homeland."

[Question] You spoke about Balcescu, Iorga, Parvan, and other great Romanian historians. Among this pleiad of historians, who do you believe shares the most traits in common with contemporary history sciences?

[Answer] Our contemporary history science is based on dialectical and historical materialism and on the important ideas featured in party documents, in the party ideological program adopted at the 13th congress, and in the theoretical work of our party-state leader. However, our contemporary history was not born--as it was thought until recently--in a void or by rejecting en masse the achievements of the history science of the past. To claim that is to deny centuries of Romanian history and, in the last analysis, to deprive the intellectual work of our people of a glorious and highly humanistic tradition. For example, what would it mean to say that we, modern historians, are the discoverers of the antiquity and of the Romanian people's unity and continuity in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area? Nothing less than with a stroke of the pen erasing from the history book our brilliant chroniclers, Dimitrie Cantemir, Nicolae Balcescu, and many others. Or if we were to claim that we are the first to emphasize the millenary existence of Romanian state structures or of our army, when we know full well--however much others tried to make us forget--that the same was said and argued by Grigore Ureche,

Miron Costin, Dimitrie Cantemir, Petru Maior, Gheorghe Sincai, Ion Budai-Deleanu, and the great scholars of the Transylvanian School, and later by Nicole Balcescu, Mihail Kogalniceanu, Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, Vasile Parvan, Nicolae Iorga, and Constantin C. Giurescu. From its beginnings and to the present, our history is marked by an uninterrupted guiding thread: demonstrating the old existence, unity, and continuity of our people in their ancestral homeland. This thread was followed by generation after generation of scholars inspired by an undying love of the nation and ardent patriotism.

[Question] Thus, we are unquestionably dealing with immutable and constant factors. What is the explanation for these amazingly constant studies in Romanian history science?

[Answer] For us, Romanians, history has always been a tool for preserving unchanged the Romanian spirit. Many foreign historians tried and still try to use it against us. For this purpose they put in so-called scientific circulation flagrant lies, or fairy tales, as our chronicles called them. They aired phantastic, and thus unscientific, ideas according to which we, Romanians, did not live here, but came from elsewhere, or even appeared in history "out of the blue." It was also said, and still is said by some pseudohistorians that in our ancestral homeland there was a demographic void that allegedly filled up in the 7th, 9th, or 10th centuries. The political objective of such fairy tales was and is obvious: to impair the always present unity of the Romanian people and their territorial integrity. The retort of Romanian history to such malevolent assertions has always been the same: to scientifically prove the truth on the basis of prime source documents and historical logic. Our historians built up, generation after generation, a genuine, impregnable fortress of national historical truths. We, the present generation, guided by the innovative ideas of party documents in writing and popularizing the national history, try to elevate it to the level of our times. Today, this fortress constitutes one of the most valuable points of reference for the self-awareness of the Romanian people.

[Question] From this viewpoint, what was and what is the position of foreign history and historians?

[Answer] True historians in other countries, those who view truth as the supreme objective of this noble profession, have always opposed unscientific treatment of the history of various countries and nations, in the conviction that only a correct and scientific approach to historical facts and data can ensure a climate of peace and understanding among nations. And the number of such historians is continuously increasing.

Recently, the Military Publishing House brought out a new volume in the series "Pages from the Military History of the Romanian People," which features studies by foreign historians on our historical evolution. The work of all the authors of these studies highlights their respect for the long struggles waged by our people for freedom and unity, and their admiration for the manner in which we always managed to overcome vicissitudes.

It can be said that there is today increased interest in the world for our history and for its military aspects, and that an increasing number of scientists, researchers, teachers, and publicists are attempting to explain the intimate resources of the long Romanian evolution. As historians, one of our duties is to maintain and continuously expand this interest, because its effects are most beneficial: the further the truths of our history penetrate within the international scientific world, the less room is left for the ideas, theses, and theories of pseudohistorians. As far as we are concerned, we believe that we must not engage in polemics on matters that have long since been solved by the science of history. To do so would create the impression that these matters are open for discussion, and that could create disastrous confusion. At the same time, replying to such pseudohistorians would involve paying them a certain attention and popularizing them. Life has verified the truth that people who falsify the history of another people will not shrink from doing the same to their own history. True historians and scientists do not stoop to distortions and lies. True historians do not slander or falsify either their own national history, or the history of other peoples.

[Question] Consequently, you believe that writing a people's history must proceed from recognized scientific results?

[Answer] Naturally. No one knows the historical evolution of a people better than the historians and scholars of that people. When foreign historians decide to write about the history of the Romanian people, in keeping with the most elementary rules of historiography, they must use the data of our national historiography and cull from reputable historians, recognized by the entire national public as its own spokesmen. Using obsolete and outdated works featuring outdated and false statements, sometimes imposed from the outside, does not help write scientific and authentic history. From this viewpoint, Romanian historians proceed very correctly. They respect the traditions, customs, history, and historiography of all the peoples and do not use in their work theses and views that the historiography of the respective country opposes. In view of this situation, we have a right to demand from all our colleagues to approach our history in the same manner, so that the relations between historians should effectively contribute to strengthening mutual relations. Any other approach involving false and slanderous treatment of our national history is, in the last analysis, a form of interference in our domestic affairs and seriously hurts our national dignity.

[Question] Less than 1 year has passed and three issues of the new Romanian magazine on military history, LUPTA INTREGULUI POPOR [The Struggle of the Entire Nation] have appeared. The publication was received with particular interest by the public. What were the reasons that prompted the publication of the magazine?

[Answer] LUPTA INTREGULUI POPOR resumes an old tradition in Romanian military publicistics. In 1864, the magazine ROMANIA MILITARA appeared, at the initiative and thanks to the endeavors of a large number of patriotic officers. Until 1847, the magazine carried studies, articles, reminiscences, reviews, etc., concerning the national history, the national military doctrine, and so forth. In the second half of the past century, other military publications-- magazines for the infantry, cavalry, artillery, etc.--were

founded and for decades they covered specific and distinctive military aspects. As is known, the period after World War II was deficient from this point of view. However, this deficiency was eliminated after the ninth party congress. As was the case in so many other areas, the renovating revolutionary spirit promoted by the ninth forum of the Romanian communists and then by subsequent party congresses swept out all traces of dogmatism and "imported" mentalities, and restored the history of the Romanian people to its due dignity, and within it, the history of the Romanian army, as an integral chapter in the great book of our national history. This became again what it had always been: the major means of patriotic education of generations of fatherland defenders. The recently published magazine has the noble mission of restoring the basic truths of the national military history within the context of the multimillenary evolution of our people. At the same time, it will serve as a militant forum for capitalizing on the rich experience of our multimillenary past from the vantage point of the present. As is known, each generation has its own perception of the national history, based, however, on perennial truths. And each generation has the honorable duty to enrich and renovate the interpretation of the past, and to decypher in it the best ways of building the present and future. At the same time, this magazine intends to highlight one of the valuable lessons of our history with profound implications for the present. We always struggled to defend our independence, freedom, and ancestral land. In between times of danger we carried out a great peaceful and constructive work, created a rich culture, and adorned our country with unparalleled cultural, artistic, urban, and other achievements. We needed and still need--like all mankind--peace in order to consolidate our position and build socialism and communism. But peace can only exist in the world if the independence and sovereignty of all the states are respected and if the nefarious policy of dividing the world into spheres of influence and domination is resolutely rejected. A world conflagration would today involve a world war inevitably leading to the destruction of life on Earth. As historians and as men of goodwill seeking peace and material and intellectual progress, we are dutybound to struggle to preempt a new world war, and for peace and security throughout the world.

[Question] Our discussion is taking place at a time of intellectual upsurge in our society, and of great interest in genuine science and creation, an interest continuously fanned since the appearance of the documents of the Ninth RCP Congress and until today. Our intellectual life is asserted and is developing within this context. What do you think is the link between history and contemporary intellectual life and the new, growing consciousness?

[Answer] Nothing can be built if history is ignored. Thus, the shaping of the new, socialist consciousness as a historical process is also subject to this axiom. The new Romanian consciousness will have to closely incorporate in its texture the lessons of the national history. The latter will impart it specific traits and a sound foundation, and will make it into a genuine renovating social force. One cannot and one does not deserve to be a citizen of socialist Romania if one does not know the national history, if one does not blush with pride at the great feats of the national past and at the example of the great men of this nation. In the contemporary world, a people do not derive their identity only from their socioeconomic development, but especially from the extent to which this development is the natural outcome of

their own history. And from this viewpoint, we have every reason to believe that our history prefaces a great future for us, a future crowned by the laurel leaves of socialism and communism. Our history is the undying source of the pride of being ourselves, free and masters in our own country. This is the quality with which we traveled and will travel through the centuries.

[Question] And finally, permit me to ask another question. What do you think is the essential argument that defines Romania's present as a natural continuation of its historical evolution?

[Answer] Among other things, I would give pride of place to the struggle to consolidate our independence. The RCP documents--the historic work of our party secretary general--emphasize that independence is inseparable from building the socialist and communist systems in Romania. History taught us and continues to teach us that one cannot be free if one oppresses other peoples, and that whatever form it may assume, foreign domination still means lack of freedom. History also taught us that nothing can be won without sacrifice, and nothing comes to us from heaven. We always had to fight and make great sacrifices to be ourselves. And we have remained ourselves. We are all determined to do everything possible to implement the inspiring and mobilizing decisions of the 13th party congress, to raise our socialist fatherland to higher peaks of civilization and progress, and to write ourselves the history of communist Romania of the future.

[Interviewer] I want to express my thanks, and we are happy to publish these answers on the occasion of the great anniversary of modern humanity, the anniversary of an event that occurred 40 years ago.

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YUGOSLAVIA

HISTORIAN PETRANOVIC INTERVIEWED ON CURRENT ISSUES

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[Interview with Dr Branko Petranovic, historian, by Sava Dautovic: "Unafraid of Taboo Topics"; date and place not specified]

[Text] It seems that the interest in the most recent history of the Yugoslav nationalities--that history which, beginning with the unification and extending, so to speak, up to this very hour, embraces the past, present and future of our society--has never been greater than it is today. Likewise the scientific examination of the past has been pressured more than ever earlier by a multitude of contradictory interpretations aimed either at absolutization or relativization of the processes, events and figures with which they are concerned.

This kind of confrontation of ongoing history and its relevant messages and lessons places a historian of the present era in an extremely problematical position. By contrast with the historian of earlier periods, who is coolly borne over the sea of dead facts, he is unceasingly in contact with historical achievements and aspirations whose values are still in the stage of active crystallization and whose consequences are perceived directly. Called upon to write an objective historical record of his own (and our) time, he is at the same time exposed to all its utilitarian demands, which usually also impose an emotional attitude toward history and diverse politicization of the content of the historical consciousness, which as a rule engenders a multitude of conflicts and places historical portrayals in a mist.

Legitimate Attributes

These dangers are especially manifested in times of crisis, and so today many people call upon the recent past in order to use it in clarifying what is happening now or with its help to strengthen our present divisions, to confirm "their own" historical rights, to magnify differences and specific features which until recently we considered normal virtues of a multinational society, and so on and so forth. This was the occasion for us to interview Dr Branko Petranovic, professor, about how historical science has dealt with these challenges, to what extent it has uncritically given in to them and to what extent it has on the other hand tried and managed to articulate rationally. In that

context we examined the affirmation of contemporary history as a full-fledged field of historiographic creativity in general, an event which has taken place only over the last decade or two.

[Question] You recently said that contemporary history has in recent years taken on the attributes of legitimacy just like other fields of history which took shape earlier. Would you elaborate on that statement?

[Answer] That is not altogether easy in a very limited space. Especially because we are dealing with a contradictory phenomenon from the standpoint of our present social situation.

Contemporary history developed for a long time as a field sealed almost airtight from the general public. To tell the truth, that public was not even concerned with it. The world was enjoying a high standard of living and became treacherously involved in the supposed blessings of the life of the "middle class" and immoderate consumption. Life was lived for the present and the future, which seemed assured as far ahead as one could see. The first conflict situations (disunity in the leadership, the student revolt, the nationalistic flood tide of the mass movement, the first offensive of the Kosovo irredenta) had just begun to disturb the surface of society, but not to the extent that attention had to be turned to the past in order to find explanations in it.

At that time the writing of journalistic history--in spite of the first disturbing warnings and the unquestionable social scars and traumas--could be satisfied with linear portrayals of the past, with adding to the monumental picture of history, with idealization of the normative state of a self-managed society, and with the effort to continue to present the corroded interethnic relations as being harmonious.

Given the existing state of social consciousness, contemporary history was uninteresting, unattractive and unknown to the general public. Its anonymity was occasionally interrupted only by ceremonial symposiums, celebrations of individual events and anniversaries. It remained in the shadow of the large-scale celebrations and holiday festivities, always as an escort in the background, illustrative and long-winded in elaboration of the existing assessments. There is one contradiction, which is not difficult to explain, that is characteristic of its development: the critical tone of speech concerning current processes of Yugoslav society which was heard from the early sixties did not stimulate the development of a critical history.

It really was not easy to turn the field of the past into a field of operation for more independent and self-sufficient research. Yet in those years the first studies and discussions did occur, and today they indicate that questions of real scientific interest were taken up and certain phenomena were soundly researched, so that even today they stand as a signpost and milestone in the writing of history. Isolated individuals among historians, and to a far greater extent scientists outside their circle, had been able to detect and identify the tendencies which led to the present uncertainties. The historians who were the first to cross the thresholds of foreign archives called attention to the international correlation of certain domestic phenomena.

To answer the question that was put, it is far more essential to say that the development of contemporary history traveled a trajectory in one direction for a long time. To this day the totality of history has been divided by the separate study (even in institutional terms) of bourgeois history and the history of the revolutionary protagonist. It has been repeated many times that to this very day the simplest variant of political history has maintained dominance. Energy was squandered in accumulating material in order to strengthen general theses or at least to illustrate them with the greatest possible diversity. The one-sidedness as to subject matter and the restriction to a single methodology were fully reflected in the projects adopted. Certain very small segments were investigated to the last detail, while the general meaning of history was neglected. The world of new facts still has been unable to loosen the inherited conceptual outlines of general phenomena. Contemporary history has been little or not at all concerned with the ideological foundations of the movement, with social forces and their political philosophy (conservative, liberal, communist), with ethical standards and the system of moral values of the old and new social protagonists, along with their changeability; with influences from outside--in terms of doctrine and practice, and their hybridization on the national soil as they were merged with our own mentalities and natures; the disintegration of the old patriarchal forms with the remnants they had in consciousness and in the material foundation of civilization; with the social components of the movement; nor with a study of the tendencies from the standpoint of possible outcomes.

#### Heated Antagonisms

[Question] Doesn't this contradict, then, the argument made about legitimacy?

[Answer] No. I am convinced that contemporary history has gained its dignity as a science both in the profession and also in our times. It has achieved that thanks above all to the enthusiasts in the profession, to those who have been devoted to their calling, but also to the selection of scientific values from the ideologization and to the emergence of a younger generation of historians who do not carry the same burden and who have been professionally trained and educated. The doors of the archives are today more open, and their procedures have become more liberal. Series of diplomatic collections and special-topic collections have been extending horizons and arousing reflections concerning the purport of the processes that have been taking place and have encouraged the establishment of new conceptual outlooks. People are bolder and more analytical in getting to the heart of occurrences in the recent past. The fear of so-called taboo topics has been overcome. Historians take more independent positions and by virtue of their critical stance rise above the subject of their research. The other social sciences have also demonstrated a considerably more intense interest in following phenomena over a more lengthy historical term.

Contemporary history cannot stop short of affirming itself as a scientific field of knowledge. A historian studying his own time has support in the most advanced methodology, in the assimilation of new factographic space, and in the constant widening of interest as to subject matter. He is also committed to following and relying on the research of others, along with the history of

the boundary areas of the social sciences. He has a professional and moral obligation in his work, since he is more and more exposed to the judgment of the unforgiving mass critic: the general reading public. Its pressure does objectively exist. The historian must not give in to it.

The contemporary historian also has a point of support in scientific criticism at a time when the interest in the recent past far exceeds all previous limits. He is aided as well by the exchange of ideas with historians of earlier periods, who are more and more sensitive to everything that might lead to corruption of the science of history.

[Question] Isn't that kind of optimism after all a little unrealistic from the standpoint of the present-day social crisis?

[Answer] However strong these or related points of support might be, the historian of the present era can certainly not fail to share the fate of social ferment, a certain onset of discouragement and of clouded horizons. He is writing at the height of the crisis and is living with its entanglements, in a time of rampant passions, a time of frustrations coming from the most diverse sources, a time of national and ideological views and disintegration of what was until yesterday a monolithic mindset concerning the key issues. He is exposed to foreign and domestic influences. Active participants cannot tolerate scientific objectification of their roles. The contemporary historian likewise comes into conflicts with new currents and the remnants of the commemorative view of events, with amateur writings and pamphleteering discreditation. He has an advantage over historians of earlier eras because he can smell the breath of processes, but by contrast with them he also bears the burden of studying manifestations of antagonisms that are still hot and sore. He faces opponents within the profession--and far more outside of it--who take endless pains to demonstrate continuities which have been severed long ago or those who refuse to acknowledge them where they are more than obvious.

The writing of history does not exist in order to pass out indulgences, but it does not content itself either with respecting political mortgages which have become permanent fixtures. There is no historian of the present period, unless he really is irreparably shortsighted, who will not face phenomena which are the exact opposite of the ways in which those phenomena have been seen up to now. The federalization of the revolutionary protagonist is not a danger, but a real fact, and democratic centralism figures only as a trademark of an organization, although it has been abandoned in practice. Polycentric statisms are the reality of Yugoslavia.

[Question] How is the influence of those social and political tendencies to be overcome in the writing of history?

[Answer] I am afraid that you are substituting politicians for historians. As one follows the fate of our sociopolitical and economic system, contemporary history and our history in general is threatened by the danger of permanent legitimization of a division into eight different histories. As soon as a unit takes on the attributes of a state, it also wants to have its own field of history. It is then that divisions occur among historians of the individual

nationalities, states and regions. Indeed you yourself record such divisions in the newspaper.

We are interested in the negative consequences of that course in general, but at this point we would dwell on the more narrow professional aspect of the consequences that have occurred or are possible. One is that we could also get a confederative history, which for the sake of symmetry would contain the national and regional histories, ultimately unifying them to form the "history of Yugoslavia" between the same covers, as though it were a case of an arithmetic sum. This view is the source of the notion that there are no general Yugoslav developments or any general Yugoslav purport of certain events. It also turns out that Yugoslavia is not based on uniform social relations, and in foreign relations an absurd situation is created in which eight entities are imposed and take part in international communication. Along these lines there is too much enjoyment of pre-Balkan parcelization and a failure to see that microstates are an anachronism.

The extremes that occur as a constant of our social development are leaving indelible traces even in the writing of history as one of the segments of social consciousness. By contrast with the former leveling out, which erased all differences in the name of the monolithic totality, in our time it is the specificities which are exclusively being absolutized and even proclaimed all but the law of scientific examination of Yugoslavia's history.

For years now, say, historians have in vain been sounding warnings that "Jugoslovenski istorijski casopis" [JIC--Yugoslav Journal of History] has for all practical purposes been extinguished (the token financial resources are said to be the reason for this); that work is not continuing on the multivolume history of Yugoslavia; that there are no translations of Yugoslav works of history; that bibliographies of Yugoslav historians cannot be presented to world gatherings of historians. Foreigners are out ahead of us in their interest and in their writing concerning our key topics, building up notions of us on the basis of their own summary or superficial research, prejudices and ideological interests. The emigre community is most active in quasi-historical retrospection.

The reputation of the field of Yugoslav history and its inclusion in the flows of the world science of history are unfeasible without research results and without letting the world know about them, while on the other hand we also have to be informed about the world literature. Foreigners cannot become familiar with us unless we ourselves work on certain of our major topics (the 27 March unification, the uprising of the nationalities of Yugoslavia, the breaking out of the Stalinist monolithism, the building of a new social organization, and so on) and present those treatments abroad. However, this cannot be done the way research is organized at present, nor with the current scientific policy, the fragmented personnel and resources, and the projects broken into tiny pieces.

You have had, for example, certain cases which were long ago researched in the foreign literature, while in our own country there was discussion as to whether it was expedient to treat them from the standpoint of whether it was

politically opportune. But this is a question that concerns the state of the social climate in the past.

#### Sign of Recognition

[Question] If the situation is so unenviable, how do historians themselves behave in it?

[Answer] There are those, though fewer and fewer, who were inoculated with an apologetic attitude, who are afraid of crossing the limit that is allowed and which has been engraved in their minds. Others express a similar thing metaphorically, feeling that in recent years there has been too much digging into the entrails of the Yugoslav revolution. It is hard not to agree with them insofar as motives from outside science have been involved, without at the same time forgetting that the reassessment of history lies at its very heart, at the heart of history as a science. Still others rightly complain that we do not exist in world history, although in this century of ours we have been right at the most immediate focus of world history. Yet others object to the provincial approach to the great historical phenomenon of the revolution, to its compression into a chronicler's outline and into the existence of ethnic and religious topics sufficient unto themselves. The ultimate division is into those who seek ethnic diversity in general Yugoslav assessments or who discover specific points of focus in them (essentially enriching them) and those who are still dissatisfied with the way separateness has been exaggerated, for whom the Yugoslav "cloak" serves only as the most general sign of recognition in the outside world. Sometimes only as a mere satisfaction of the form. Those who emphasize the importance of comparative analyses of our phenomena in a broader regional and political-ideological context are also heard from.

Our historians have not agreed to research the history of Yugoslavia in World War II within the context of the large coalition of the United Nations. The strategy of the CPY would undoubtedly be revealed in greater relief in the light of a comparative analysis of the strategies of the other European parties, especially the communist parties in the Balkans. It has not been noted that the British policy of compromise in Yugoslavia was characteristic of its neighbors as well--Italy and Greece. Had there not been the invasion in Normandy, how could one understand the greater intensity of the resistance movement in western Europe, and likewise the uprisings in Romania and Bulgaria without the offensive operations of the Red Army? The landing of the western allies in France was also the sign that there would be no landing in the Balkans, which--along with other circumstances and motives--had a bearing on the shift of the strategic emphasis of the National Liberation Struggle of Yugoslavia toward the eastern part of Yugoslavia.

Even among our quasi-historians--under the influence of the most varied ideological sediments and anti-Yugoslav frustrations--Yugoslavia's obvious continuity as a community of nationalities in the concept of the CPY, beginning in 1941, was disputed for a time.

[Question] In this context what are your reflections about the rather confusing emergence of the interest in history that has grown up suddenly and the virtual flood of history in the press? What do you see as the cause of this phenomenon?

[Answer] The historical mind is a part of the social consciousness and interest in it is not something that dies out. The phenomenon might appear vulgar from the multidisciplinary standpoint or might result in the instrumentalization of historical science, but it need not do so. Quite a bit depends on whether these are people in the profession for whom history is a calling or on the other hand on whether the periodicals themselves are reputable (choice of writers and articles, the correctness of the reporting and the passing on of information). Under these assumptions, it could even contribute to shaping public opinion concerning our past. The historian's analysis, assuming it is a rational one, is a counterbalance to the parallel histories which objectively exist. Yet there is no doubt that it still would be far more sensible and indeed also more and indeed also more effective for the press to carry articles from the professional journals, studies published or prepared for printing, excerpts from collections of documents.

There is also no doubt that the present crisis is giving an impetus to curiosity and more intense interest in history. More and more people are looking backward and wanting to know the history of what led up to our contemporary phase. The strategy for getting out of the present disturbances, the creation of new visions are also based on the assumption of a study of their roots. The younger age groups are demanding in the name of the future that they have the most exhaustive possible picture of the time in which they were children. A large portion of the participants wonder where the hang-up occurred in the past or where to find the "broken spring" which is today confronting us with a picture that surprises them. The monumental projections from times in which there were no upheavals--which created a picture of social peace and prosperity guaranteed once and for all thanks to the historical effort of the previous generations--are proving less and less tenable under the pressure of daily troubles. The most skeptical spirits among us will say that history has only the situation of crisis to thank for its present popularity. They are even ready to haul out examples from the distant past.

[Question] The world has become accustomed to classify among "historians" all those who write about the past. On one occasion a colleague of yours spoke about this with disappointment, saying that physicians are in a far better situation, since nurses cannot turn up at their meetings.

[Answer] Every one of us has a consciousness of history, expressing it in the most widely differing ways. But that consciousness of participants, of those who took part in events, of all those who make judgments about the times--past and present--is different from the consciousness created by historical science. Nonhistorians are also writing about history and interpreting it. The term historiography would also include the writing of history in the form of memoirs and pieces of journalism. Each of the writers has his own version of history. For most of those writers their own truth is the inviolable truth. Endless polemics, personal intolerance and enmities are an integral part of the trappings of historiography in the broader sense.

Writing is a matter of culture, just as the way in which one perceives a challenge to one's own assessments as a matter of culture. We obviously lack equability, tolerance and a civilized attitude for allowing opinions other than our own. The political sphere attributes too great importance to the things which inevitably accompany the effort to excavate the legacy of the past. This is a phase which must pass. In the West matters related to World War II were raised and resolved while the pleiade of wartime statesmen were still alive, that is, in the first years after the war. Among us, however, memoirs have been more than rare. The first storm was aroused by Tempo's memoirs "Revolucija koja tece" [The Ongoing Revolution], published in 1971.

In every society there has always been the "protector" type who has found a sedative for his own anxieties in measures which evoked only the worst associations. The experience of history has demonstrated countless times that censorship is the worst recipe and that prohibitions do not merely arouse democratic and humanistic indignation, but they also put an outright check on the progressive forces of society in finding the way out of social impasses.

[Question] Aren't you inclined to a certain overestimation of the role of history, while at the same time you underestimate the retrograde forces in society?

[Answer] Neither the one nor the other. I have already spoken about the former, and I would merely add a few observations about the latter.

The ruling forces have long ago abandoned the sterile internationalism which in both domestic and international relations stifled noble national sentiment, the search for national identity, and concord among the nationalities on the basis of equality. But a sharp line was not drawn between the ethnic aspect and waves of nationalism which have clouded the vision of the future, whose standard-bearers call people into the trenches in the name of ethnic integrations, pure ethnic entities, correction of "historical injustices" as seen through the eyes of rabid chauvinistic and irredentist forces.

The crisis of the present organization of society is accompanied as never before by a mixing of two opposite currents: one, the dogmatic-bureaucratic, whose point of departure is the status quo, which is satisfied with the ossified organism, the institutional shell, the hackneyed vocabulary and the constitutional untouchables, and the other the markedly antidogmatic current of democratic self-management, which in the name of progress does not accept that there is anything so sacred that it should not be changed in the name of the future. That current of the consciousness of democratic self-management is in constant conflict with the conservative tendency, which is trying to block the revision or change of any arrangement that has been in place up to now. It is utterly unimportant that the present institutional mechanism has "jammed," especially since it is easy to spot behind the blockage the defense of vested interests.



## The Neglected Essence

Social struggles, even those muffled ones, have been waged from behind the screens of juristic terminology or in a language with subtle political intonations, and in recent years they could not avoid taking on more and more of the appearance of interethnic confrontations. As though to prove the critics were right when they found the source of ethnic exclusiveness in the ruling organization itself and in its protagonists. Which also accounts for the phenomenon which was confusing for a time--that today there are few organizations so verbally and really preoccupied with the national phenomenon as the communist organization. The essential issues of the vanguard--if we exclude some of the most general social commitments--have been neglected. This is eloquently evidenced by the silence concerning the principles of socialist justice, concerning the deepening of social rights, ethnic standards of behavior, human solidarity, political cohesion, and work efficiency. Not to mention the extent to which the unity of the whole has been threatened by the actual cases of separatism and arbitration commissions out of the history of the well-known self-styled saviors of Yugoslavia.

7045

CSO: 2800/425

YUGOSLAVIA

WRITER DISCUSSES SITUATION OF ROMANIES

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jul 85 p 12

[Statement by Muharem Serbezovski, recorded by Mustafa Mujagic: "First-Class Gypsy"]

[Text] Romany or Gypsy? It doesn't matter what we call ourselves, but it does matter how we live and on what. I always say with pride, "My name is Muharem Serbezovski and I am a Gypsy." Why? When necessary, Gypsies can be colder than Englishmen, merrier than Greeks, more accurate than Germans, and more businesslike than Americans; we do not have a Viennese school, and we never kiss a woman's hand, but we know how to be more tender than the French, and more resourceful than the Jews, and we spend money with more gusto than Arab sheiks. We are more loyal than the Japanese; one cannot remember a Gypsy's ever having been against his country. Only a Gypsy can love nine women at the same time. What we have we spend today, and we worry about tomorrow when it comes.

No. Why would it be a hindrance to me in Tito's Yugoslavia that I am a Gypsy, and that my father and mother and brothers and sisters are? In my career? Likewise. I recall once a long time ago. Seven thousand people were calling my name. Banners just with my name, and a few other singers, among them just me, a Gypsy from the Skoplje district of Suto Orizari (Pusto Pirincano Pole).

How Muharem Was Tempered

From my father, the first postwar Gypsy teacher in Skoplje, I learned that there are only two nations--good people and bad. This is my measure for everything. To me, the intention is important. Remember the match in Sibenik. Sibenka and Crvena Avezda [Red Star] were playing. Several thousand people yelled to Avdija, "Gypsy, Gypsy." But Avdija is not a Gypsy. I think that at that moment they were not insulting a people but rather condemning a concrete cruel act.

Everyone carries his burden as well as he can, but the Gypsy's burden is perhaps the heaviest to carry. Think about what a curse it is. We who for centuries have been entertaining others, who rejoice in the sun, happiness, merriment, are belittled, persecuted, and driven to the bottom of the dregs of humanity. The truth is that Gypsies only live with good peoples, and so I am considering something--what are those like with whom Gypsies have never lived?

There always have to be two sides to a story. I think that we Gypsies are most to blame for the fact that we have not accomplished more in Yugoslavia, since so much has been offered us, as never and nowhere before. What is responsible for everything is our damned mentality, the Gypsy philosophy of life, which has been around for centuries, and which I do not see any end to. What philosophy? The father says, "Why should I change? I am too old. My son will do it," and his son says the same thing about his son, and it's all like that.

This pains me, of course. Other peoples and nations take enormous steps forward, but we have not advanced even a millimeter for centuries. Don't judge by me. I have what few Gypsies have. I have persistence and I am responsible. Naturally. And in spite of this it has been difficult, too difficult.

I remember how I became a star with the song "Hatidza." I was supposed to sing at Beogradsko Prolece [Belgrade Spring]. A little Gypsy from the district, right there in Belgrade. I looked around me. I listened and I thought, "My Muharem, how are you going to survive? You can't even speak Serbo-Croatian decently." I will never forget that sleepless night in the Slavija hotel. I barely waited for dawn, and headed for the bookstores. All the books looked the same to me. I pointed at one, and said, "I want that one." It's true, believe me. The book was "How the Steel Was Tempered." It's only since then that I have been reading. I have that to thank for everything that I have achieved in my life. In books, I found confirmation of what I had learned from my father--that you should not be ashamed of what you are.

#### Gypsies Who Aren't

I don't want to talk about those others who stopped being Gypsies as soon as they achieved something. It is true that I know a number of Gypsy singers, doctors, and engineers who are now Serbs, Moslems, Yugoslavs... A traitor rarely betrays only once. Misery is ashamed of misery. Those who belittle Gypsies are worse than them, and those who are ashamed of what they are are just the same. They would not be Yugoslavs if it caused them trouble tomorrow.

It is true that Gypsies like to boast, but I have not only read every one of the 1,500 books I own, but have also given them to other Gypsies to read. It is rare that someone slips by me without being interrogated. Why do I do this? I love my people, and help them as much as I can. For more than 20 years, through my songs I have been pointing out their mistakes to them, and also through my songs, I have been showing the Gypsy spirit to others. What else could I have done? It is only through songs that I have been able to destroy prejudices, and bring us closer to other peoples and nationalities. Did I succeed? I made an effort.

I am not saying that others have not, but the Gypsies need different assistance from that "provided" by Steva Teodosijevski. Above all, even before bread, Gypsies need schools and books.

So last year I went around to classes in the Suto Orizari district and told them, "Whoever finishes the class with good or excellent grades will get my first novel as a present." The Sarajevo publishing house "Veselin Maslesa"

published my first novel, "Sareni diamanti" [Many-Colored Diamonds], and it will soon publish the second, "Cigani A kategorije" [First-Class Gypsies]. I have just finished the third. Shall we talk about the novels later? All right. You ask what happened. Seventy-nine percent of them finished with grades of good or excellent.

How does Teodosijevski help? According to the newspapers, he educates Gypsy children, gives them large fees, and guarantees their future. The truth is somewhat different. His main attraction are the children who play the drum [tarabuka]. As soon as one is 12 years old, he takes another, and that has been the case for the 30 years that Teodosijevski has been on the stage. Every one of them became a social case, since they did not learn anything from him except being cafe musicians, and when they got a foot in the rear end they were left with nowhere to go. How do I know this? Well, I played the drum for Teodosijevski myself. I am the only one of all those children who became successful. How? I left him on time. And there are a lot of Stevas in this country of ours who earn money from Gypsies' sufferings.

### Gypsy Alienation

The Gypsy leadership is something else. Gypsies can come to an agreement about everything, except who will be first among them. Why? Well, every Gypsy thinks that he is better than another. It turned out that Gypsy representatives get the most. That is probably the case everywhere. So, in the four years that this team has been at the top, nothing has changed in Gypsy life. The Gypsies don't get much out of pretty stories. Most of them do not even have money for newspapers, let alone televisions. Who are all these litanies for, then? The Gypsy masses rarely have occasion to contact officials, except those who provide social assistance--since our representatives tell the officials, "Who will organize the Gypsies, "The authorities only invited a few, and so only a few of us went." Yes. It is pitiful. Collective life and democracy are the most recognizable Gypsy traits. It comforts me that this alienation is not unique to the Gypsies.

What do I want? I want the average standard of living of the Gypsies to be higher than having something to eat every day. I know, I know. Without work there is no bread, and there is no work without training. And what about those jobs for which Gypsy college--elementary school--is sufficient?

The Gypsies can only be driven to learn through work. In the collective they will see what it would mean to them to have an education, and so even if it is too late for them, they will force their children to learn. This way, everything is still the old way--society advances, and the Gypsies stay behind.

It is true that the Gypsy food is music, but even Gypsies sleep. One cannot sing and play constantly. One must fill one's stomach, at least with bread. That's right. For several years I have not eaten bread at all. What sort of a diet is that? While I was poor, I ate so much of that I acquired a life-long aversion to it. I think that it is painful for every decent Yugoslav, not just me, when he knows that there is someone, even a Gypsy, who is hungry for bread. You ask what they live on? They manage. The centuries have taught us

that a Gypsy can only trust a Gypsy, that only they will forgive each other everything. And in such a collective life they find bread, in order to survive.

### Virgin Soil

All politics is alien to Gypsies. They do not like polemics. They like singing, weeping, and make problems, mostly for themselves. They are content with little. They need little to be happy and satisfied. Why take pains for things to be like that for them? I agree that the fate of the Gypsies is in their own hands, but most of them are like little children. It is more useful and easier to educate them than to re-educate them.

The stage is a wolf's den. Many Gypsies, in spite of all their musical talent (other nations have inventors, engineers, doctors, and prove and exhaust themselves with this, while the Gypsies only have music), have not managed to succeed, to earn money. I am not concealing the fact that I earned a considerable amount. I am not concealing the fact that I have six brothers and three sisters, and that I bought all of them houses before I bought myself an apartment. You find fault! Who ever heard that one could leave so much money along the way from writing? Why do I write? Because I feel that I have something to say, since Gypsy life is virgin soil, an inexhaustible treasurehouse. Others have also written about Gypsies, but those are observations. I feel the problem of my people, I sympathize with them, and I make an effort to conjure this up for the readers as vividly as possible. I am the first Gypsy in the world to write prose. It will certainly be easier for those who come after me.

Is anyone helping me in this? A lot of them, but I have received the most encouragement and assistance from this city, from Sarajevo. How am I to repay it? From Voja Maksimovic's review and criticisms I learned a great deal; due to the people at Veselin Maslesa, I published my first novel, which will also be printed by Pomorska Založba in Murska Sobota. If a person could cite two birthplaces, then I would put Skoplje and Sarajevo on my identity card.

9909

CSO: 2800/380

YUGOSLAVIA

CURRENT STATE OF GENERATIONAL CONFLICT SKETCHED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1804, 28 Jul 85  
pp 20-23

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic and Petar Nesic, assisted by Dejan Jovic (Zagreb) and Gordana Jovic (Belgrade): "The Generation Giant as a Political Dwarf"]

[Text] "When Yugoslavia catches a cold, young people sneeze."  
(Young folk saying)

If, God forbid, something should happen to an airplane flying from Belgrade to Moscow, half of the young Yugoslavs would be left without a head. That is, the 250-member expedition representing us at the World Youth Festival includes two-thirds of the federal and the republic and provincial leadership of the Socialist Youth League. They all look very fine in their uniforms, which are all alike, with their new sneakers, and decorated with badges so that they look like Latin American generals. Meanwhile, this action has taken up most of that organization's money, time and energy, while all the real problems have remained here.

Thus in Ljubljana university students are still not paying rent in the dormitories. Because of the bad food they have even organized a boycott of the student dining hall. Their demands have been supported by the Presidium of the Slovenian SSO [Socialist Youth League], and the students say that issues which have been on ice for 5 years now have been resolved "under pressure" in 2 months.

Something similar happened a few months ago in Belgrade, where a supper of the "bread-and-salt" type by some 50 or so students shook up the student service department here, having revealed that the average student lunch in their dining hall was more expensive than the same lunch, say, in the restaurant of the Federal Assembly or the Central Committee. Food prices were hastily cut back, as indeed were some of the personnel in the student service department.

Jeans in the Armed Forces Center

After that it was unpleasant to hear that some 20,000 young Belgraders at a concert whose proceeds were intended for the hungry shouted out loud what is at the moment the most popular song produced by the wet diaper culture. The song is called "Better To Be Drunk Than Old." The message of youth chauvinism

is crystal clear: all the Methuselahs who are already age 20 or over have to be in a natural state of drunkenness to tolerate the harsh reality.

This year the number of candidates for officers' commissions has dropped off both in quality and in the ethnic pattern following an offensive on the military schools which lasted 4 years. As if to punish them for that, the head of the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] Center in Nis decided to set the young generation to rights. He prohibited anyone from entering that building wearing jeans--the odious uniform of that age group which has come from the Wild West along with other bad things.

The editors of one youth weekly recently received a letter from the anonymous "Committee for Defense of the Rights of Young People," which proposed prohibiting from election to all offices anyone older than age 40 and prohibiting anyone from public expression over age 50.(?!)

Last week television broadcast an ambitiously conceived program entitled "Young People and Nationalism." The anchorwoman with the microphone in her tender hand traveled over the country putting two questions: "Are you a nationalist, and if you are not, do you know any nationalists?" To her surprise she got negative responses, and she victoriously reported to Srdjan Vrcan, sociologist, that there is no nationalism among young people in Yugoslavia. This brought a compassionate smile to the face of that old fox Vrcan, since just a minute earlier they had broadcast the statement by a secondary school student in Valjevo--"We are spreading nationalism ourselves, since here in Vojvodina, for instance, the Hungarians gets school instruction in Hungarian, but could I get Serbian instruction in Hungary?"

MLADOST, which is always very official, last week published the following passage as though it were a slogan:

"The spring political season cannot pass without a torrent of compliments and statements aimed at winning young people over emanating from various forums. But among these foamy and glib rhetorical cocktails one that stands out particularly is the one that says that our young people are happy, since, look around you, everywhere in the world there is shooting and killing and people dying of hunger, while here we have peace and quiet. Young people are supposedly growing up in freedom and calm, free of the tragedy in the outside world, happy that they still have a head on their shoulders and that they have something to eat. This kind of style and content of a political speech about young people has long been a kind of evergreen of our seductive mass media output, whose rhythms conceal the autochthonous craft of petty Balkan politics. It illustrates on the one hand the guilty conscience of its creators, and on the other the tried-and-true pedagogue's model of warning and black-mailing 'ungrateful' young people because of the anxiety that has built up concerning a sudden escalation of their revolt. After all, given the growing unemployment, the runaway inflation and the immense burden of the dollar debt, it is hard to face young people with any very coherent or optimistic statement. That accounts for the circulation of this protoparental 'eyewash' in the style of 'just keep quiet, things are the way they are, at least people aren't getting killed and going hungry,' which ultimately has the function of

compromising in advance any act of justified revolt on the part of young people because of their gloomy legacy, their uncertain prospects and the betrayal of the fundamental principles of our socialist revolution...."

#### A Platform for These Times

As though he were answering positions like this, Ivan Stambolic emphasized in a speech in Titovo Uzice that young, educated and gifted people still have a hard time winning the confidence of their elders:

"We cannot constantly reiterate to young people what personnel policy ought to be. Since we know what it is and what is wrong with it, we have to acknowledge the errors that have been made and correct them. Bring young people into the economy, bring them into politics, into important and key posts, bring young people into self-management--much more boldly than in the past," the chairman of the Serbian LC Central Committee said.

When we showed this sentence of Stambolic's to a high youth official, saying that even in this situation certain party officials were speaking more radically about the position of the young generation than the officials of the Youth League, he answered (invoking anonymity):

"You have to be 'a Stambolic' to speak like a youth official, since there is no youth official who would speak like the chairman of the Serbian LC Central Committee out of fear that he might be taken the wrong way by someone who is older and in a very high position."

But is that really the case? A week ago the SSO of Yugoslavia debated the draft of the Young People's Platform for the 12th congress. This draft, which takes up 18 pages, differs greatly in spirit from what materials for the congress have been in the past. It is more frank, more interesting in some respects, and one would say radical. The very introduction states that "the challenges we confront in these tumultuous times demand of us that we know clearly what we want and how we intend to accomplish it. And what we want is to participate in making all the key decisions of our future development, since we want to belong to a future that is actively planned and not passively awaited. We refuse to stay any longer on the sidetracks of social events.... We no longer consent to be a screen for decisions made in our name--we intend to reserve that right for ourselves.... The time to make such changes is here. For us there is no other time."

The draft of the platform will go to the "constituency" for verification, but, its authors say, the joint document which will be the basis for organizing the congresses in the republics and provinces and for drafting resolutions was arrived at with relative ease and relative concord. To be sure, there were some objections. It was said that the document does not mention Tito's name even once. The justification was given--that mentioning his name for purely formal reasons was not necessary when the entire platform was full of his spirit. Branimir Brkljac, president of the commission for drafting it, explained the spirit of the platform this way:



"It means that if necessary we have to enter into a conflict of arguments with those forces within the LC and SAWP who are thrusting young people into marginalization--restricting their actions to cross-country motorcycle races, marches, youth festivals and work projects. We can no longer support a mechanism which favors mediocrity in everything, stifles talent and independent initiative. It is obvious to the naked eye that the long-lasting social impotence and failure to change bad things have led to a growth of political abstinence. This can best be seen in our organization, whose powerlessness the present social crisis has laid completely bare."

What is happening with our young people?--is the favorite question of political illiterates. The question ought to be: What is happening with our society? Why do young people say that it is "better to be drunk than old," are they rejecting certain traditional values and models of the older generation, and what do the examples given mean?

No, No, Tap, Tap

The symptoms and the numbers are disturbing. The activist core within the SSO is getting smaller and smaller, the party organizations at universities, which once embraced between 20 and 30 percent of the students, have dropped in some places to 4-5 percent, and at certain joint caucuses of young people and veterans caustic words were heard: "You have spoiled the system in the way you implemented it and you made these mistakes. You should not be allowed to die until you correct what you messed up and until you repay the debts."

Silvija Zugic-Rijavec, the woman who heads the federal youth organization, told us that the assessments of a docile young generation are inaccurate, that the situation is very serious "and it would not surprise me if there occurred somewhere more serious disruptions than the troubles with the university students in Ljubljana and Belgrade."

"We as an organization," Silvija adds, "can no longer remain in the ghetto of youth problems, since in fact they do not exist. They are all the problems of society, but today, within the factory, young people are still concerned with culture and with cleaning the factory grounds. As soon as they attempt to influence any essential issues, they get a rap on the knuckles. That is also what is happening to us in society. As soon as we leave the field of culture, individuals accuse us of seeking political power and of not behaving as partners. In May we were even given advice from on high that we should not read that kind of message in connection with the Youth Relay, but we stuck to our guns. There were also meetings of high forums in which one could feel that individuals were not pleased that young people were so outspoken, since it is obvious that it suits someone to have this kind of young generation and this kind of youth organization. Such people, regardless of what leadership they come from, do not have the strength to put an end to the bad things in society, but even now they are saying that not much should be expected from the youth congresses and party congresses although the history of the LC teaches us that it is at the congresses that many essential steps have been taken in society."

The youth organization president also mentioned that the socialist youth organization has no influence whatsoever at the federal level, that she (as president) is not invited to the meetings of the LCY Central Committee, that the delegates of the youth organization go to assembly committees only on invitation, that there is no representative of the young generation in national defense councils, and that in essence the conference of the SSO of Yugoslavia functions like some kind of interrepublic commission which can present its views only within the Socialist Alliance, if the latter puts such items on its agenda.

Goran Gnus, president of the Serbian SSO, agrees with Silvija, adding:

"Even in certain top sociopolitical leadership bodies we see an anxiety about what is regarded as the overactivity of young people, a fear of a youth that authentically expressed itself and a fear of that potential energy. As though it does not occur to anyone that that energy could be used on behalf of qualitative changes in society. It cannot be said today that young people are losing interest in politics. Their abstinence from membership in the SSO and the LC is a highly politicized tendency. As a matter of fact, it is likely that the "critical mass" within the young generation has not yet been achieved, but any further postponement of the key changes, euthanasia of the Long-Range Program, the irritating manifestations of separatism, disunity and the lack of a clear vision of the future will be taken by young people as a direct attack upon themselves.

As an illustration of their own position of helplessness, the officials of the SSO say that in recent years there has even been a drop in the courteous interest of members of coordinating committees in personnel matters related to the election of youth officials; that materials arrived late or did not come at all for many essential meetings at all levels; that they learned about many essential decisions concerning their own future from the newspapers and finally that certain youth officials (masculine) who had distinguished them by their outspokenness had suddenly gone into the army and after doing their military service they dropped out of what is referred to as high-level politics.

Regardless of the existence of examples to the contrary, the most interesting fact at the moment is that young people from various social strata and various parts of the country are more and more easily finding a common language within the SSO and that common attitude is more and more taking on a frontal form toward "the old men." Thus views that the generation conflict that has grown up is a conflict between "proletarians in short pants," and, as it is said in the common parlance, "those who hold the social power" have been dug out of hibernation in the specialized literature. Uros Mahovec, editor-in-chief of MLADINE, says that he does not see any reason why in present-day Yugoslavia we should not foster a generation conflict along with all the other conflicts.

"It may be that in our country," he says, "we have 8 + 1 generation conflicts, each within the respective republics and provincial borders, and one general generation conflict which sees its future in terms of domination at the federal level. All of this has to do with the struggle for power, so that the essence of the generation conflict is above all a class conflict in nature.

Until the economic troubles are heightened to the culmination point, which will bring about a clearly formulated and unified class consciousness, we will be talking about an atomized generation conflict. Only after the culmination point does the real generation conflict ensue."

Religion? Unemployed!

In the fall the LCY Central Committee intends to debate the overall position of the young generation. At that time it will probably discuss for the first time the fact, which is not negligible in political terms, that today many youth leadership bodies are more radical than the rank and file. Up to now the situation has traditionally been the other way about. This kind of radicalization has also resulted in several storms within youth leadership groups, and this has caused resignations and changes (Slovenia and Montenegro).

Igor Bavcar, until recently an official in the Slovenian SSO, says that we are the only country which has managed to dramatically worsen the position of its citizenry and above all of young people within that body, and at the same time politics boasts about social peace. In response to the question of whether the next decade will open up prospects for the young generation, he says:

"It is impossible to deal with the closed prospects in 10 years. However terrible it might sound, we have to be realistic in our assessments. It is not a question of 'all or nothing,' since history often responds 'nothing' when the dilemma is put that way. It is more important how we will organize ourselves so as to open up the prospects. The most essential prerequisite is democratization of Yugoslav society, which also presupposes democratization within the economy."

Meanwhile statistics is an amazing science. In all respects it is on the side of the young people, but that obviously is not enough. Those with unshaven chins comprise 36 percent of the working-age population; more than 700,000 of the 1.1 million unemployed are entitled to belong to the youth organization (their composition with respect to skills is better than that of the employed labor force). There are more than 700,000 persons under age 27 among the 2.2 million party members in the country. But young people represent 2 percent of the members of the SFRY Assembly. In the 1982 elections in Serbia young people represented 8.56 percent of those elected to workers' councils and 9.08 percent of those elected to delegations (this represents a considerable drop from the previous elections). Young people comprise 7.93 percent of members of chambers of associated labor in opstina assemblies. Within the Assembly of SR Serbia young people represent 14.11 percent, 12.2 percent in the Chamber of Associated Labor. At the same time the average member of the Croatian LC Central Committee was born in 1942 and has been in the party for 27 years. The youngest member of the Presidium there is 35. Most of the chairmen and secretaries of opstina committees of the Croatian LC are between 35 and 40.

Youth officials feel that if this trend continues in the elections next year, the battle for the interests of young people will be lost for good, and that would only confirm that our generation giant is actually a political dwarf. To be sure, it is often said that the interests of young people in the various

republics are set against one another to such extent that even under these conditions they are more and more sharing the same position, both economic and political, one cannot speak about the common interests of the young generation in Yugoslavia. Bavcar, whom we talked to, responded to that this way:

"This reminds me of the worker whom they asked in court what religion he was? And he answered--I am unemployed! There are certain differences in interest between the Slovenian young people and the young people from the other republics.

"But I do not think that it is impossible to draw up a joint program for the youth of Yugoslavia because of those differences."

This only confirms that the proposition "the future belongs to those who have youth on their side" no longer applies. Today the rule is rather this:

"Whoever has the future has the young people!"

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END